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ABSTRACT

This research study examines education in Japan. Emphasis is on providing a rich, detailed description of Japanese education, particularly as it is practiced in the primary school. The main descriptive points are highlighted by a comparison of the American educational system with that of the Japanese. A major objective of the study is to correct some of the misconceptions that Americans have about Japanese education. Chapter one examines how education can promote equalitarian social change. The history of Japanese education is discussed in chapters two and three. The importance of class and family and equalitarian education in the primary schools are dealt with in chapters four and five respectively. Chapter six discusses mastery learning in Japan. The impact that the Japanese primary school has had on the moral orientations of youth is treated in chapter seven. Exam competition is examined in chapter eight. The difficulties that Japan's young people are experiencing in adjusting to the adult world are studied in chapter nine. Equal opportunity is the topic of chapter ten. Chapter eleven reviews a few of the educational problems which trouble contemporary Japan and speculates on the future of education in Japan. (Author/RM)

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THE SECRET OF JAPANESE EDUCATION*

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FINAL REPORT TO THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION ON RESEARCH

GRANT NO. NE-G-00-3-0119:

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN SOCIOECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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August 31, 1977

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INTRODUCTION

This is a study about schools, and how, under the favorable conditions present in post World War II Japan, they can both promote greater equality in the skills, motivations, and values of their pupils and contribute to levelling the social structures that these youth enter. The Japanese experience may be exceptional among the advanced societies. In the U.S. following World War II, schools were asked to promote greater social equality. Major efforts were devoted to desegregating school facilities, to improving the quality of schools in backward areas, to introducing compensatory education for the culturally deprived, and to improving the quality of guidance available to pupils. Yet several studies which have evaluated these reforms challenge their efficacy. Christopher Jencks and his colleagues in their Inequality conclude:

> There is no evidence that school reform can substantially reduce the extent of cognitive inequality, as measured by tests of verbal fluency, reading comprehension, or mathematical skill.[1]...None of the evidence we have reviewed suggests that school reform can be expected to bring about significant social changes outside of the schools.[2]

The Japanese experience totally contradicts these conclusions.

This thesis on the potency of Japanese schools will certainly surprise many readers. It has been my experience that many otherwise well-informed people do not have a balanced perception of the Japanese situation. For example, they think Japan is characterized by great inequalities in income, power, and wealth; this is true, but Japan's inequalities are less than America's and, moreover, have been decreasing over the past twenty years. They may have learned about Japan's highly competitive examination system and how it chains so many unhappy youth to their studies, yet they do not know about the happy Japanese primary school where children form loving friendships, appreciate music, develop aesthetic sensitivity, and also learn to read, write, and calculate. Hoping to correct some of these misconceptions, I have attempted in this study to provide a rich detailed description of Japanese education, particularly as it is practiced in the primary school.

Chapters Two and Three focus on some aspects of the history of Japanese education and society while the remaining chapters focus on particular facets of the educational process. Among these, Chapter Five which summarizes my observations over a year long period of the educational processes in primary and middle schools may be of greatest interest to the reader unfamiliar with the Japanese situation. I have often relied on comparison with the American situation to highlight the main descriptive points. Given the diversity of the U.S. and the tendency for so much of recent reporting to focus on the worst examples of American education, I recognize that some of these comparisons may exaggerate the differences.

At the same time, I have tried to move beyond description and develop several arguments that explain the potency of Japanese education. These provide the structure for several of the later chapters, and finally in Chapter Eleven they are brought together in a series of propositions. There I identify what I believe to be the major lessons of Japanese education for the American educator and researcher. While Japanese educa- has developed in its special societal context, many of its distinctive characteristics are imitable. Also, some of Japan's problems may become the problems of the other advanced societies.

Four years ago when I began this study, I had no idea it would take its present form. Originally I viewed education simply as an indicator of social status and intended to investigate how its contribution to the Japanese process of status attainment was similar to or differed from the experience of other societies. It would be difficult to recount all of the reasons which led me away from this initial plan. My struggle with the status attainment data was one factor. As will be apparent in Chapter Ten of this book, the Japanese data does not behave as consistently as the recent data reported for the U.S. Coefficients indicating the strength of relation between education and other status variables jump around from cohort to cohort in unpredictable ways suggesting complex discontinuities in recent Japanese experience. As I looked more deeply into this experience, I came to appreciate that it strains some of the crucial assumptions of the status attainment research: In particular, it is questionable whether occupational attainment is the best indicator of status attainment. Also whereas the status attainment tradition assumes stability in the differential ranking of occupations as well as in the relative social distance between occupations, these assumptions do not hold for the Japanese case. These considerations led me to question the practicality of rigorous comparative research on status attainment.

At the same time, other factors were leading me to ask more penetrating questions about the significance of the Japanese experience. In ways that are too complex to relate here, I appreciate how my childhood in the state of North Carolina, the most egalitarian of the Deep South states, has always sensitized me to questions of equity and human feelings. These innate concerns surfaced as I became more familiar with the Japanese story. My wife, who was educated in Japan and also taught for several years in a Kyoto high school, possibly influenced me to devote more attention to Japanese schooling. Conversations with Benjamin Bloom, Charles Bidwell, Mary Jean Bowman and other colleagues at the University of Chicago also played an important role. It was Bloom, in particular, who sensitized me to the plight of the slow pupil and helped me to understand and value the processes in the Japanese classroom which enable this often neglected being to master the curriculum and develop self-respect. I am grateful to all of these individuals and experiences for leading me onto a new road.

Of course, my gratitude does not stop there. Throughout the four year period of this study I have been the recipient of a grant from the National Institute of Education, U.S. Office of Education, and have appreciated the support of my project directors, Robert Pruitt and Nevzer Stacey. My year of actual fieldwork in Japan was supported by the U. S. Educational Commission in Japan. (Also known as the Fulbright Commission). I will always appreciate the hospitality of Professor Tetsuya Kobayashi and the Faculty of Education at Kyoto University who were my local sponsors, as well as of the principals, teachers, and pupils of the schools I visited and observed. I wish to thank the following individuals who generously shared their insights and in some instances their as yet unpublished data with me: Atsushi Nasoi and Kenichi Tominaga of the University of Tokyo; Ikuo Amano, Morikazu Ushiogi, and Hidenori Fujita of Nagoya University; Makoto Aso and Yasumasa Tomoda of Osaka University; Michiya Shinbori and Kazuyuki Kitamura of Hiroshima University. I would also like to thank the several individuals who have played a key role helping to compile information or otherwise assist in the development of this study: Noritsugu Ishido of Kyoto University, Michael Barnas, Osamu Kusatsu, Miranda Ferrell, Robert Burns, Kenneth Egusa, Karen Pittman, Gary Thiesen and Earline Franklin of the University of Chicago. Thomas Rohlen deserves special thanks for his thoughtful critique of my first draft. Finally, I am grateful to Morris Janowitz, William J. Wilson, Philip Foster, Edward Laumann, and Tetsuo Najita for their support over the difficult period during which I completed the present version.

[1] Christopher Jencks et al. Inequality, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972, p.

[2] Ibid., p. 255.

CHAPTER ONE

WHAT ARE THE QUESTIONS?

How can education promote egalitarian social change? Much of the current thinking on this matter is concerned with decreasing the impact of social background on academic and socioeconomic achievement. This conventional meritocratic approach assumes a continuation of the established inequalities between the powerful and the weak, the rich and the poor, the respected and the rest. The goal is to alter the conditions that determine who assumes these inequal positions. Based on the meritocratic value premise that the most able products of the school should be selected for the most important positions in society, this conventional approach results in reforms to promote greater equality of opportunity.

The meritocratic approach is outdated. Its concern with reducing the impact of social background can be applauded, but it becomes increasingly difficult to assess progress in this effort as the schools receive the full cohort of young people and promote them, irrespective of performance, until the completion of high school. While in school, young people are tested and graded into "differential ability" groups for subsequent channeling into stratified educational careers. Compensatory educational programs are developed to improve the school performance of children from deprived backgrounds and elevate them to the higher educational tracks. These conpensatory programs do not seem to work. But even if they did, would the improved school performance of these children do them much good. For in today's overeducated society we witness the anomaly of unemployed Ph.D.'s and college graduates working as waiters, while high school educated electricians enjoy a princely life style.[1] Children from lower class backgrounds may, thanks to the compensatory programs, do well in school only to find out that they are destined therefore to do poorly in society.[2]

In contrast with the meritocratic approach, some visionaries have outlined a transformationist approach which focuses first on structures rather than the flow of people through these structures.[3] The transformationist approach challenges the established hierarchies, urging that they be levelled. Rather than a concern with reducing the effect of social background on individual learning, it attempts to realize a situation where all can learn. And rather than have pupils learn those skills and knowledge that will help them to fit into the existing hierarchies, the transformationist approach urges that pupils develop a critical attitude to these hierarchies. As the hierarchies become more equal, so will the opportunities.

While China, Cuba, and Tanzania among the third world countries have made clear commitments to the transformationist approach, most of the advanced capitalist societies have been resistant. Japan represents an interesting exception. Japan's conservative ruling class has stubbornly clung to the old meritocratic model. Meanwhile, due to postwar reforms, the leadership of the radical teacher's union, and other favorable conditions, the actual process of schooling in Japan has come to approximate the transformationist approach in a number of specific ways. The central government and the leadership of Japan's economic institutions have resisted this development. However, they have been unable to exercise decisive influence on the actual conduct of education in the classrooms. Japan's teachers have developed a remarkably egalitarian educational routine which, because of its impact on young people, has led to egalitarian social change.

Japan then among the advanced capitalist societies is an unusual case. The education being practiced there provides a glimpse of what the other advanced societies may develop over the long run. While we wish to know more about this transformationist approach, how should we go about investigating it? Long experience with the meritocratic approach has led to the development of a standard set of procedures for its description and evaluation, but these are largely irrelevant to the transformationist approach. A new set of questions need to be asked. In the remainder of this chapter we outline several of the new questions suggested by the Japanese experience.

Why Only Cognitive Effects?

Educators recognize that their pupils undergo remarkable growth during the school years. In Japan, teachers welcome this growth and attempt to influence it in all its diversity. Their ideal is "whole person education." Teachers at one of the schools we visited selected the following goals to guide their work during the year of our observation:

--to develop children with pure and rich hearts;

--to build up strong and healthy bodies;

--to promote the spirit of curiosity and intellectual achievements;

--to encourage the will to endure in whatever is attempted;

--to help each child to understand how his strengths complement those of his classmates.

The willingness of Japanese teachers to develop "whole people" is a crucial factor in Japanese education's capacity to promote change. In teaching values to their pupils, the teachers influence the way these young people respond to established patterns of behavior. As we shall see later, many of the values that are emphasized by teachers are consistent with the status quo of the larger society. However, teachers also convey an inconsistent "egalitarian sentiment" which provides leverage for social change.[4]

The notion of promoting the development of the whole person is not alien to the American educational tradition.[5] Yet reviewing the conventional American evaluative studies, we find that most focus exclusively on the "cognitive outputs" of schools and on the educational system's function of conferring certification. The evaluative studies acknowledge that the schools may have effects on other faculties. For instance, Jencks, et al, choosing to label these other effects as "non-cognitive traits," go so far as to say that they are the most important.[6] However, these same authors demur from a serious analysis of noncognitive growth positing that little is or can be known about it as the methodology of social science lacks adequate procedures for categorizing and measuring noncognitive traits.

The same consideration guides most of the conventional research. In a few studies, attitudinal and motivational variables are used as predictors of cognitive achievement but in no instance are they treated as outcomes. The potentially important question of the noncognitive effects of schooling is avoided because it cannot be handled with the most advanced methodology. By default, the research focuses on the possibly trivial but measurable alternative of cognitive growth.[7]

Our exposure to the Japanese situation convinces us of the severe handicaps any evaluative study will encounter if it focuses exclusively on cognitive outcomes. Society cannot be changed simply by making people smarter. To bring about change, the objects people value and the motivation they are prepared to expend to realize their values have to be altered.

Why Only Short-run Effects?

Each person's development occurs over a long period with individual idiosyncracies in rates and stages. At some points in an individual cycle development may proceed quite rapidly whereas at other points there may be a long slump. Thus meaningful trends in individual development cannot reliably be ascertained over a short period of time.

A carefully planned evaluative study of the effects of school reforms on individual growth would review individual change at several points over a sufficient time span. While this ideal research design is generally acknowledged, most of the conventional American evaluative studies have not followed it.

The research for the much publicized Coleman report of the mid-sixties was far removed from this design.[8] Measurements of children's performance and of variables thought to be influential on performance were taken at only one point in time. Despite the design's inappropriateness, the Coleman report liberally drew policy inferences. For instance, the report forcefully argued that the increased integration of schools through busing and other means would lead to improvements in the cognitive achievement of both the black and white groups participating in these changes. Several years later Coleman himself criticized this inference as unjustified. Despite the limitations of the one-shot survey approach, most American evaluative studies rely on it.

Preferable to the one-shot design is one which considers development over a long period. Our Japanese experience leaves us with the strong impression that school and teachers take a longer perspective. The principal at one of the primary schools we visited urged parents not to worry if their children were not performing well after the first semester or even after the first year. For, as he explained, primary school lasted six years, and throughout this period, the teachers would be making efforts to read the child. Japanese teachers often maintain relations with individual students long after these children graduate, and for these teachers the real satisfaction derives from watching their former students cope with the adult world. These teachers view education as a lifetime process and are inclined to evaluate their efforts accordingly.

We are impressed with the importance of the long-term perspective on educational achievements. Hence, in the report that follows, we attempt within the limits of available data to relate the postwar emergence of Japan's new education to several long-term changes in Japanese culture and society.[9]

Does School Achievement Result in Status Attainment?

The conventional American studies relate features of school structure to trends in the personal development of groups of children from different socioeconomic and racial backgrounds. Underlying these studies is the assumption that once school reforms can be identified which lead to a narrowing of racial and ethnic differentials, the wider implementation of these reforms will contribute to greater equality in educational and social opportunities. Educational achievements are assumed to be related to educational attainment and in turn, educational attainment is associated with socioeconomic achievement.

The Japanese situation points to a number of problems in these assumptions. Even if we could identify the reforms that might reduce the effect of background on cognitive achievement, we would encounter unexpected problems at the stage of implementation. One of the special problems in the Japanese case is the large number of schools that lie outside the public sector. There is only a modest association between educational attainment and the cognitive achievement which these evaluative studies measure. Yet it is educational attainment which has the major effect on an individual's occupational career. In addition, at least in the Japanese context where different schools at the same level open up distinctive social opportunities, it became necessary to question what we mean by educational attainment. Simple measures which merely identify number of years of schooling do not even approximate the complexity of the school system. All of these insights can be profitably applied to the American experience.

Related to the school effects research is a second body of research which evaluates the effects of educational status on social mobility and status attainment. As with the school effects research, the status attainment tradition is guided by the norm of equal opportunity. Two guiding propositions are derivable:

(a) To the extent the relation between indicators of the social background and educational attainment of individuals weakens, equality of educational opportunity has increased.

(b) To the extent the relation between the educational attainment and occupational status of individuals strengthens, social opportunity has increased.

Compared to the research on school effects, the status attainment tradition is in a better position to evaluate changes over time. Some research in this tradition dates back forty years and comparisons between studies conducted at different points in time are meaningful. These comparisons provide some indication of progress towards greater equality of educational opportunity,[10] but little indication that the more equal educational opportunities are related to more equal social opportunities. According to Hauser et al. who have conducted the most detailed analysis of this situation, over the past 40 years social opportunities have opened but this is due solely to changes in the occupational structure.[11] These authors maintain that they expect the same conclusion applies to all of the advanced societies. We maintain this generalization from the single case of the U.S. is not justified and will indicate in Chapter Ten how the Japanese experience constitutes an important exception.

Education as a Constant

There was a time when social scientists carried out their analyses with simple analytical techniques. In recent years, however, this situation has radically changed. Many of today's significant works make assumptions and utilize complex procedures beyond the grasp of the ordinary layman. In the education field the Coleman Report was the first major official document evaluating school effects which used regression techniques, Jencks' et al's Inequality relied on the even more complex techniques of structural equations, and nearly one-third of the latter report was devoted to explaining the methodology.

The rapid advances in analytical techniques have created a situation where most readers are unable to follow the data analysis underlying social science investigations, and hence, have to rely on the investigator's literal summation. Our Japanese experience leads us to identify two potential areas where readers may misunderstand the conclusion of current research. The first concerns the difference between a variable and a constant and the implication of this distinction for interpreting negative finds on school effects. Later we will take up the role of the family.

School effects studies generally identify a large number of school or educational characteristics that can be quantified--the ratio of students to teachers, the expenditures per student, the number of library books per student, etc. Researchers visit a large number of schools and determine each school's score with respect to these characteristics. Insofar as the schools differ widely in their traits, it is said that the characteristics have statistical variance. From among those characteristics with variance, the researchers then select a limited number to enter into an equation used to predict educational outcomes such as performance on an achievement test or satisfaction with school. These selected characteristics are said to be important to the extent that the variance in their distribution manifests a statistical association with the variance in the distribution of achievement test scores.

While it is almost second nature for the current generation of researchers to equate importance with statistical association, consider the following implications: those school characteristics which have little variance are, by this criteria, deemed unimportant. Yet this leads to a disturbing anomaly. One of the goals of public sector educational reform throughout the advanced world has been to reduce the variance in the distribution of school characteristics. In the effort to realize equal educational opportunity, educators have attempted to equalize inter-school student-teacher ratios, student expenditures, and a host of other factors. Their efforts have transformed many school characteristics from variables to constants and thereby made these factors impotent as predictors of variations in schooling outcomes.

A typical research report using today's techniques might conclude that these equalized school characteristics are unimportant. When we consider what schooling would be like without these constants of school buildings, teachers, and library books, we begin to recognize how an evaluative interpretation which relies only on degree of association as the criteria of importance can be misleading.

The possibility for this kind of misinterpretation is most likely in a system such as Japan's where school reforms have made outstanding progress towards equalizing facilities. We will have occasion in this book to refer to the International Educational Association's study of Science Achievement in Nineteen Countries. L.C. Combers and John Keeves, who compiled the IEA science study, observed that:

> ...The small or zero correlations reported for several variables from Japan may arise from the high degree of uniformity across the schools of the country in the provisions made for science teaching.[12]

It was no surprise to discover for the Japanese case that school variables contributed absolutely nothing to the explanation of variance in science achievement whereas in other societies these variables explained anywhere from 2 percent to 8 percent of science achievement variance. Yet this does not mean Japanese schools are relatively unimportant.

Not only have reformers been concerned with equalizing school facilities but in recent years they have shown a keen interest in equalizing educational results. Between countries we find wide variation in the degree of success achieved, but Japan is among the leaders. As school systems narrow the performance distribution, it becomes increasingly difficult with the standard regression method to determine what is contributing to differential performance. As with equal facilities, to the extent a school system realizes equal results it becomes difficult to interpret the dynamics of the schooling process.

Our focus on the Japanese case, where school facilities and outcomes are relatively equal, naturally leads us to dwell on the particulars of their success. If we wish to explain schooling outcomes in a system which achieves relative equality, we need to put aside the standard analytical strategies that emphasize variance, and instead, ask what is constant between schools. While the standard approach focuses on variables to explain variables, we need to look for the constants which explain other constants. Particularly when we turn to consider the emergence of new values among Japanese students, we will be concerned with the constants of that nation's schooling experience.

Insofar as the individuals of a given cohort come to share certain values, it can be said that they are "constant" with respect to these values. Focusing on the values that comprise the egalitarian sentiment, we find that for the immediate postwar period it was primarily the highly educated young people who were in possession of these values. As successive cohorts passed through the postwar schools, educational attainment has steadily declined as a predictor for acceptance of the egalitarian complex. Increasing proportions of each new cohort, regardless of educational attainment, have come to affirm these values. Educational attainment as a predictor of this egalitarian complex has shifted over time from a variable to a constant while the schools have been the principal instructor in egalitarianism.

Is the Family First?

The prominent educational role attributed to the family in conventional studies raises another set of issues. There are various reasons for attributing importance to the family in developmental processes. Children spend most of their early years in a family setting, and many parents appear to be zealous cultivators of their children's development. Freudian theory as well as other socialization theories argue that the events of early childhood have profound significance for subsequent development.[13] Numerous empirical studies show strong associations between measures of family structure and status and measures of subsequent personality development, including individual achievement. There would seem to be ample justification for according an important role to the family.

Studies in Japan which focus on the different ways in which parents actually rear their children report little to zero family effect--at least through the preschool years.[14] Of course, a number of studies which use status variables as proxies for family childrearing practices and report modest "family effects." However, are these status variables acceptable proxies? As we will see in Chapter Four, in postwar Japan, there is virtually no relation between the social status of a family and its child-rearing practices. A review of American studies would produce a similar conclusion.

In fact, there are few studies which demonstrate that internal family dynamics lead to personality consequences. The principal support in the U.S. for the family primacy assumption derives from studies where status proxies for familial impact link with developmental outcomes.

Despite the absence of compelling evidence supporting the family primacy assumptions, conventional studies adhere to it and persist in using proxies rather than actual measures of family educational activities. Some of these studies, irrespective of their proposed purpose of evaluating the relative contribution of family, school, peer, and other effects on individual development, go so far as to enter family primacy variables in a stepwise regression procedure.[15] It is common knowledge among statisticians that this strategy significantly reduces the possibility for variables entered later in these equations (i.e., school variables) to explain an appreciable share of the variance. Due to questionable methodological procedures such as these, many of the recent evaluative studies have concluded that the family plays an overwhelming role in individual development. The role of the schools and subsequent experiences, however, are said to be modest. The methodological sophistication deployed by these studies render these conclusions highly suspect.

There are other grounds for questioning the family primacy assumption. For example, Kenneth Prewitt, in reviewing the first decade of political socialization literature, argues that the associations between "family" variables and specific developmental traits do not necessarily confirm the family primacy hypothesis.[16] Prewitt focuses on the well-known example of the strong correlation between parental and child party identification. While the political socialization literature maintains that party identification and the associated political orientations are transmitted from parent to child in early childhood and are resistant to later influences, Prewitt asserts several anomalies: if the transmission occurred during early childhood, then parent-young child correlations should be stronger than parent-older child correlations; but in fact, the opposite pattern prevails. In addition, whereas the family primacy argument implies that the political orientations should be stable during an individual's early years, they tend to fluctuate extensively. Only as young people mature do their political orientations stabilize. Other findings suggest that parent-child similarities in political orientations are not established in the early childhood years but rather at a later stage in the life cycle.

Prewitt goes on to observe that while the majority of children eventually assume political attitudes similar to those of their parents, some adopt very different postures. These deviants tend to belong to a social milieu that differs from that of their parents. Prewitt concludes that:

> the child is not a product of family influence only, but of family influence as mediating and mediated by the social milieux to which the family belongs--its class status, its race, its religion, its region, its ethnicity, etc.[17]

Insofar as the child assumes an adult role in milieu similar to his parents, their political orientations will be close. The similarities would materialize even if the parents did not specifically transmit political orientations, since aspects of the common milieu would serve as surrogate teachers. As a child's experience departs from that of his parents, their political orientations will tend to differ.

These considerations lead Prewitt to reject the widely accepted family primacy model for explaining the acquisition of political attitudes and in its place he suggests a model which he describes as "feeling one's way into the real political world."[18] According to the new model, life experience teaches. So long as lessons along a common theme repeat themselves over the course of maturation, individuals will learn them. Where inconsistencies appear, the individual will have to make choices; these choices are as likely to be affected by the expectation of the milieu towards which the individual thinks his life is heading as that from which he has come.

An analogous perspective has been proposed for the study of moral development. Eleanor Maccoby, in a review of the literature on the development of moral values, notes how most studies tend to adopt the family primacy assumption, but the evidence in its support is not unequivocal.[19] In particular, she cites a study by Albert Reiss where for a number of moral orientations, the influence of family variables was negligible. Indeed, Reiss finds that subsequent experiences had a significantly stronger association with individual moral orientations. Based on this evidence, Reiss argues that the values "learned early in the family setting are not internalized in the sense of becoming self-maintaining."[20] De-emphasizing the role of the family in the transmission of values, Reiss maintains that "values must be continually reinforced and maintained by inputs from the social setting in which an individual finds himself, and will change if these inputs change."

Reiss, as does Prewitt, believes that statistical evidence of association between family variables and value acquisition may reflect nothing more than that subjects conduct their affairs in a milieu similar to that of their parents. Discontinuities in milieu are likely to result in value discontinuities. Reiss's approach, in that it makes frequent reference to reinforcing experiences, can be called a reinforcement model.

Maccoby, in her critique of Reiss's paper, suggests that the most appropriate position may lie somewhere between the family primacy and reinforcement models. Our experience in Japan makes us partial to Maccoby's suggestion. On the one hand, we find that Japanese youth continue to affirm many of the values and observe many of the same customs as their parents. On the other hand, there are certain areas where Japanese youth are departing from their parents. It is impossible to explain this value discontinuity within the limited framework of the family primacy model.

A second reason for our interest in a new approach to explain value acquisition derives from our conclusion that Japanese families are becoming increasingly similar in their structure and child-rearing patterns (i.e., those features according to the family primacy model which are related to value acquisition). Yet there is no evidence that the adult Japanese population is becoming increasingly homogeneous in its value commitments. Convergence in some areas is balanced by divergence in others. As suggested by the reinforcement model, socialization experiences outside the family must be considered if we are to provide a full explanation for these complex trends.

The Political Economy of Schools

To conclude our list of questions, we turn to the most complicated one: what is the relation between schools and the broader political economy? Most of the U.S. evaluative studies have avoided this topic altogether, restricting their attention to a technically sophisticated but limited analysis of the association between school characteristics and school outcomes. Failing to find strong school effects, these studies turn to "technical" discussions concerning measurement error, the inadequacy of cross-sectional designs, and the need for more research.[21]

In reaction to these technical excuses, an exciting body of radically-oriented analysis has emerged which accepts these negative findings and attempts to explain them by reference to processes in the broader political economy. The earliest radical statements were primarily schematic in nature pointing to the control which the corporate ruling class exerts over the national and local governments where school policy is established. From these observations, a correspondence principle was advanced to the effect that:

> the activities and outcomes of the educational sector correspond to those of the society generally. That is, all educational systems serve their respective society such that the social, economic, and political relationships of the educational sector will mirror closely those of the society of which they are a part.[22]

Among the several empirical studies that have sought to validate the correspondence principle, Bowles and Gintis's Schooling in Capitalist America provides the richest examination of the American situation.[23] These authors point to several control mechanisms the corporate class has instituted to realize its goals.

1. The corporate class manufactures a meritocratic ideology so as to induce the common people to contribute their labor without resistance to corporate purposes.

2. The corporate class through its labor market decisions ensures a permanent reserve army of labor so as to control the influence of labor organizations.

3. The corporate class by the way it organizes production ensures that work will cast a "long shadow" over the lives of workers and the way they raise their children. Thus, families will unwittingly cooperate in reproducing the class system.

4. The corporate class through its infilitration of the central political institutions guarantees the implementation of educational policies favorable to its interests such as the post-Sputnik curriculum upgrading and the current emphasis on vocationalism.

5. The corporate class through its influence over local governments ensures the selection of school administrators and teachers who will support the corporate ideology. To further this end, the corporate class opposes the organization of

teachers into unions and encourages their passive white collar mentality on matters relating to school authority.

Bowles and Gintis marshal convincing evidence that these mechanisms operate to fulfill the correspondence principle in the U.S. The Japanese corporate class is just as determined to institutionalize these mechanisms as its American counterpart, and in certain areas, the Japanese corporate class may even be more successful: Its control over government, its articulation of ideology, its ability to shape the labor market, and the commitment it elicits from workers are the envy of corporate elites throughout the advanced capitalist world.

There is, however, a major flaw in the Japanese ruling class's attempt to dominate the reproductive process which has compromised its success on the other fronts. Since World War II, most of Japan's teachers have been organized in a strong labor union that is firmly committed to the realization of a socialist society. The teacher's union, while unable to circumvent corporate influence at the central and local government levels, has succeeded in mobilizing the majority of teachers in campaigns to prevent the implementation of several unwanted government policies. In addition, the union has articulated an egalitarian philosophy and a diffuse body of educational principles that have exercised a profound influence on the daily conduct of education in Japan.

Japan's ruling class has vigorously opposed the teacher's union by depriving the union of its legal right to collective bargaining, imprisoning numerous union leaders, attacking the union in the mass media, and providing career incentives to those teachers who resist union membership. Significantly, these ploys have failed. The union has persisted throughout the postwar period and its influence on the actual events in classrooms has steadily increased. This flaw in the corporate class's efforts to reproduce the prevailing social order has been fatal. In our view, it is the principal source of postwar change. A study of the schools which fails to take account of their broader socio-political context would not provide a meaningful evaluation of the transformation model.

Summary

We begin this report with a list of questions. One might think, given the volume of research on school effects, that the time for questions has passed; that it is time to get on with the work of providing answers. While this businesslike orientation is appropriate to a well-established tradition of inquiry, we conclude that it does not fit the educational field. American research on school effects has settled on a narrow definition of the issues, and in many instances has used questionable investigative procedures.

These critical observations are not unique to this author. Many who share a concern with American education are appalled by the sterility of current educational research. One important reaction has been to explore in greater historical depth the American situation, a trend which has generated a number of fresh perspectives including the new radical analysis.

What is special about our study is the way in which the Japanese experience has forced us to break away almost entirely from the American tradition. Time and again, we find that the way in which questions were posed in the U.S. simply cannot do justice to the transformational character of the Japanese situation. Our reaction has been to pose the questions presented above. In the chapters that follow, we will turn to answer each of these questions starting with the last.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For a lucid examination of these labor market anomalies, see Richard B. Freedman, The Over-Educated American, New York: Academic Press, 1976.

[2] The best analysis of the disjunction between educational and social attainment is found in Christopher Jencks et al. Inequality, op. cit.

[3] The term "transformational" is taken from The Editors' General Introduction to the 1974 World Year Book of Education. See Philip Foster and James R. Sheffield, ed. Education and Rural Development. London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1973. Two visionary analyses are Robert M. Hutchins. The Learning Society., and Daniel Bell, The Post-Industrial Society, New York: Basic Books, 1973, esp. pp. 402-455.

[4] We define the egalitarian sentiment in greater detail in Chapter Seven. A number of surveys and anthropological studies suggest that Japan's younger generation are more egalitarian, individualistic, and critical of authority than their parents. The first general report documenting this trend is Yoshiharu Scott Mutsumoto, Contemporary Japan: The Individual and the Group (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, new series, Vol. 50, Pt. 1, 1960).

[5] This was certainly a central theme in John Dewey's educational philosophy. However, Japanese teachers who visit American classrooms are surprised at the limited goals articulated by contemporary American teachers. See George Bereday and Shigeo Masui. American Education Through Japanese Eyes Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1973.

[6] Jencks et. al., op. cit., p. 134.

[7] This situation seems a perverse reversion of Lord Kelvin's famous dictum "When you cannot measure, your knowledge is meager and unsatisfactory."

[8] James S. Coleman, et al. Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

[9] We have found several different types of data to be suitable for these long-term evaluations. Concerning the effects of education on status attainment, Japanese social scientists have been conducting social mobility surveys since 1955. We have obtained raw data for two of these surveys and are in a position to present several original findings on long-term trends. A second source of information from which we will draw numerous examples comes from public opinion surveys that repeat the same questions at two points in time minimally. Among these, our best indication of education's long-term effects comes from the National Institute of Statistical Mathematics' "Survey of Japanese National Character" which it has administered every five years to representative samples of the Japanese population.

[10] Robert M. Hauser and David Featherman, "Equality of Schooling: Trends and Prospects," Sociology of Education, (April, 1976) Vol. 49, pp. 99-120.

[11] Robert M. Hauser et al., "Structural Changes in Occupational Mobility Among Men in the United States," American Sociological Review (October, 1975) Vol. 40, pp. 585-598.

[12] I. C. Comber and John Keeves. Science Achievement in Nineteen Countries, New York: John Wiley and Sons, p. 257.

[13] For a review of these theories, see Eleanor E. Maccoby, "The Development of Moral Values and Behavior in Childhood," Ch. 6 in John Clausen, ed. Socialization and Society, Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968.

[14] This evidence is reviewed in Chapters Four and Six.

[15] The Official IEA report on the International Science Achievement Survey is a typical example; see Comber and Keeves, op. cit., p. 242 for their rationale.

[16] Kenneth Prewitt, "Some Doubts about Political Socialization Research," Comparative Education Review (Feb., 1975) Vol. 19, pp. 105-114.

[17] Prewitt, op. cit., p. 109.

[18] Ibid., p. 111.

[19] Maccoby, op. cit.

[20] Albert Reiss, as cited in Eleanor Maccoby, op. cit., p. 263.

[21] The most outstanding example is Frederick Mosteller and Daniel P. Moynihan, On Equality of Educational Opportunity, New York: Vintage Books, 1972.

[22] Henry M. Levin, "Educational Reform: Its Meaning," in Martin Carnoy and Henry M. Levin, et al. The Limits of Educational Reform, New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1976, p. 26.

[23] Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BACKGROUND FOR CHANGE

Japan is a densely populated nation located on several rugged mountainous islands off the coast of the Asian mainland. This setting has enabled Japan to develop somewhat independently from its Far Eastern neighbors. Japan has been strongly influenced by Far Eastern culture. Yet Japan, while drinking from the cup of Far Eastern culture, has also on more than one occasion attempted to shut out this influence.

From 1600 to 1868, the central Tokugawa regime enforced what was probably the most extreme isolationist policy in the history of large-scale societies. As a result, the nation enjoyed peace, but only modest development. Meanwhile, the West was rapidly industrializing and adopting new forms of economic and social organization. Japan knew very little about these developments until Commodore Perry's warships, puffing black smoke, steamed into the Edo Bay, and shot several warning shots from their cannons. Japan's upper class of samurai, who took great pride in their military prowess, were startled by the American military hardware: at that time, Japan did not know the principles behind steam power or firearms. Immediately, young samurai began to consider how the nation could respond to this challenge. Within a few years, these debates led to the toppling of the Tokugawa regime by a coalition of young samurai who were determined to modernize their nation. The new leaders, known as the Meiji oligarchs as they assumed power at the same time that the Emperor Meiji was coronated, were determined to modernize Japan's institutions and avoid the fate of colonization. These oligarchs, exercising firm central leadership, imposed a formula of "Western technology and Eastern Spirit" on the Japanese people.

The Meiji regime introduced Western liberal reforms including the abolition of the feudal class system, the promulgation of a constitution, and the establishment of representative political institutions. At the same time, it sought to marshal the nation under firm central control, directing popular energies to the task of national development. The "educational revolution", establishing what is today known as the "old system", became an integral part of the young regime's effort to realize these ends. While other Asian nations lost their independence and failed to develop, Japan ran against the pattern. It rapidly gained in national strength and unity. Ultimately, Japan felt sufficiently strong to challenge several of the Western nations as Germany's ally of World War II.

Following Japan's defeat in World War II, the American Occupation, in reaction against many of the characteristics of wartime Japan, carried out a massive program of reform. The Occupation's aim was to establish a new society committed to democracy and peace. This brought about a "second revolution" in Japan's educational institutions. As a background for the analysis of the postwar egalitarian trend, we wish in this chapter to outline several characteristics of the educational systems created by the two educational revolutions.

An Outline of the "Old System" of Education

The young warriors who in 1868 took control of Japan were deeply conscious of the prime importance of mass education and advanced knowledge in order to achieve modernization. In the Charter Oath issued soon after their accession to central power, they announced the need to "seek knowledge widely throughout the world".[1] Upon completion of consolidating the traditional governmental units, they began in 1872 to affirmatively construct a modern educational system. The Fundamental code of Education issued that year declared

> there shall, in the future, be no community with an illiterate family, nor a family with an illiterate person. Every guardian, acting in accordance with this, shall bring up his children with tender care, never failing to have them attend school.[2]

At this formative stage, the government looked to education as a means for forging a closer integration of the diverse feudal loyalties and for training a technical elite. However, factions in the government disagreed on the basic tenets to shape the educational philosophy. After a decade of unrewarding experimentation with Western liberal ideas, from the early eighties the government shifted towards a more traditional elitist and pragmatic conception. Mori Arinori, who from 1885 to 1889 served as Minister of Education, played a key role in articulating the new policy which was to remain as the framework for Japanese education through World War II.[3]

The main characteristics of Mori's educational system included the following:

1. Spiritual training. All youth throughout the nation were required to spend a minimum of four years in primary schools where they would learn both the basic cognitive skills and the principles of the national morality. Mori repeatedly emphasized the necessity of spiritual education. An opening paper presented for the consideration of the Cabinet put forth the following rationale:

> Civilization is gradually spreading in todays world. The things in daily use are steadily developing and changing. Is the spirit of our people sufficiently hardened and trained that they may withstand adversity, bear up and endure under pain, and shoulder the heavy burdens of the long road ahead? This must be doubted. Since the middle ages, in our country only the warriors (*bushi*) have labored in civil and military (*bunbu*) matters and administered the affairs of government. Now, as a result, only one portion of the people adequately understands and supports the modernization of the state. The situation is such that the great majority are simply confused and even lack the important and essential character for guaranteeing the independence of the state... Even if the broad principles of education are established, according to what specific method shall we advance the purpose of education? Consider for a moment. Our country has never been subject to indignity from a foreign nation thanks to the authority of the Imperial Throne which has continued as an unmatched line of Emperors unbroken from ancient times. Thus the people's spirit of defending the fatherland and the ethos of exhausting one's self in loyalty to the Emperor have been nourished as traditions from our ancestors, and this spirit has not yet been lost. This is the foundation for national wealth and

> strength of which there is no other. If the character of the people is advanced according to this spirit, and if this is made the goal of education, there will be no necessity to seek elsewhere. The people will hold a strong sense of loyalty to the Throne (*chūkon*) and of love for their country (*aikoku*), will have a strong character, and be pure in thought. If we can establish a principle for education which abhors the receiving of insult and considers the doing of evil shameful, and if this is adequately instilled, will there not be such a spirit among the people? There is no doubt they will be able to endure much difficulty and strive together to carry out their tasks. This is the vital energy which is the motive power for advancing by one's self, exerting one's self in the pursuit of learning, polishing intellect, and advancing the civilization (*bunmei*) of the state. This vitality if channeled into productive labor will develop the national wealth. There is not one element in advancing the fate of the state and casting away all danger which does not come from this vital spirit. The elderly pass this vital spirit to the young. Fathers and ancestors pass this vital spirit to their posterity. From person to person and household to household, all are made the same according to this vital spirit. The vital spirit of one nation is fixed, and when it is unswayed forever, the base of that natioh naturally becomes something of great strength.[4]

In 1891. after extensive discussion within the government, the main themes to be stressed in the school's program of spiritual training were summarized in the Imperial Rescript on Education.

> Know Ye, Our Subjects:
>
> Our Imperial Ancestors have Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.
>
> The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue.[5]

Every school child was required to memorize and recite these short paragraphs. The daily curriculum of moral education was subsequently structured around these.

Among the many themes emphasized in the morals curriculum were the respective ways in which men and women could contribute to the national purpose. While men were urged to energetically assume their place in the world of work, women were directed to the home. After completion of the second grade, the sexes were placed in different classrooms. From that point on, the curriculum for young girls emphasized domestic arts such as cooking, sewing, and flower arranging. Girls were discouraged from attending school beyond the compulsory level, and the educational opportunities that were available to them were not equal to those for men. As one official report put it,

> Our female high education may be said to have the object of forming character in women and of imparting knowledge well-calculated to make good wives and wise mothers, able to contribute to the peace and happiness of the family into which they marry.[6]

Through World War II, a Japanese woman could not strive for a degree at an Imperial University. The majority who studied beyond the compulsory level ended up as temporary teachers in primary schools.

2. National Integration. Up to the time of the Meiji Restoration, the political power in Japan had been fragmented into nearly 300 distinct units. The loyalties of the warriors and common people had been to their local lords rather than to the national center. Hence, one of the greatest challenges faced by the young Meiji government was to alter this pattern of local allegiances. The new curriculum of spiritual training, richly infused with centrist themes of loyalty to the Emperor and allegiance to the national purpose, was a principal means toward this goal of

national integration. To ensure that local areas received the message, the young government quickly moved to a system whereby the central government exercised extensive control over local schools: texts were authorized by the central government, school principals were government appointees, expenses in the compulsory schools were supported by central government subsidies, and central government inspectors made annual visits to each local school. In these ways the government attempted to influence local schools to adhere to national policy.

However, prior to the formation of this state dominance policy, many private groups established modern schools, and among these were several reputable institutions supported by foreign Christian missions. To avoid antagonizing the Western nations, the Meiji government allowed these mission schools to carry on with their work, but after the turn of the century the government took a series of steps that significantly reduced the attractiveness of these private schools as places for young Japanese to study.[7] Among these actions were provisions making it difficult for private school graduates to sit for the exams at higher level government schools and universities. Since graduation from a government school or university was a requisite for many civil service jobs, these actions restricted the career prospects of private school students. As with the public schools, the government sent inspectors to private schools. Some private schools were forced to dismiss personnel who were considered objectionable by the government. In these various ways, the government sought to realize a uniform educational program that would foster national integration.

3. Meritocratic Selection of an Elite. At the top of the old system was the Imperial University whose function was to select the national elite and provide them with the broad education appropriate to elite roles. In contrast with the compulsory primary school, virtually no restrictions were placed on the manner in which the members of the Imperial University conducted their educational or research activities. The assumption was that those who gained admittance to this institution would already have developed such a strong commitment to national goals that further indoctrination would be unnecessary. Admission to this elite institution was to be based solely on a competitive entrance exam that anyone with the appropriate level of educational achievement could take. Through the 19th century, the Imperial University accepted less than one person out of every thousand in a given age group who attended primary school. Even as late as the 1930s when several additional Imperial Universities were established, the ratio of Imperial University places to primary school entrants remained less than ten to 1000. The government restricted the scale of the most prestigious higher educational institution so that their degrees would confer honor and advantageous career prospects.

4. Technically Competent Labor Force. In between the primary schools and the exalted Imperial University, Mori Arinori had established the framework for the development of a diverse multi-track post-compulsory educational system. The most prestigious track led through a middle school and higher school into an Imperial University. Other tracks pointed the way to various vocational schools, normal schools, and technical and semi-professional schools.

Figure 2.1 provides an illustration of the various paths as they had developed by 1937. In general, once an individual began on one track, he could not transfer onto a different track; for example, an individual who started in a secondary vocational school could not upon completion of its program compete for admission to a college, but would first have to go back to complete the middle school course.

Mori and others of the Meiji government highly evaluated the potential contribution of the various schools comprising this intermediate sector. They appreciated the great need that Japan would have for competent, trained specialists and skilled workers if the nation intended to succeed in its industrialization effort. At the same time, Mori was concerned that the students who attended the post-compulsory schools should continue to receive spiritual education. During his tenure as Minister, he devoted particular attention to the curriculum of the normal schools where primary school teachers were trained. Special morals texts were designed for these schools, and a spartan schedule which included early morning calisthenics conducted by military officers. Mori believed their example would help to cultivate the loyal and disciplined character appropriate for teachers. In that the state maintained a monopoly of the teacher training schools, these provisions were certain to reinforce the official policy of providing systematic spiritual training to primary school students. Similar provisions for spiritual training were built into the curricula or the other intermediate schools.

Strains in the Old System

These concerns for national integration, spiritual training, the development of a core of competent technicians, and the meritocratic selection of a national elite guided Japanese educational policy through World War II. These policies were established by the central governmental elite to serve the interests of the state and those social groups most important to the state. While Mori Arinori and others indicated their concern for the welfare of the common people, the policies they devised were not intended to respond to the "felt needs" of these people. Instead, the policies were designed to bend the people into conformity with the program established at the center. As Mori often indicated, "education is not for the sake of the student but for the sake of the state". The central elites believed that the ordinary Japanese subject was backward and needed to be guided into the modern world. In their opinion, the interests of each subject would best be served if all cooperated in realizing the goals of the state.

The central government retained its commitment to these basic policies through World War II, yet vast internal social changes in this period modified policy specifics. For example, with industrialization the demand for technically trained manpower increased. Events following World War I encouraged a more militaristic national tone, and this led to an intensification of spiritual training. Most historical accounts imply that the policies designed by the government to cope with these social changes were successful. Yet that was not always the case.

1. Primary school enrollments. While the central government

declared as early as 1872 that it intended to achieve universal attendance in primary schools, this goal was not realized until circa 1910, nearly forty years later.[8] The government initially required mandatory attendance in addition to compelling parents to pay the necessary fees from their own pockets. Upon realizing that these policies actually caused a decline in enrollments, the government ordered local governments to collect the revenues to support compulsory education and at the same time, it allowed those governments facing fiscal problems to forego an educational program. Only as the central government began from the late eighties to subsidize compulsory education was there significant progress toward the realization of universal enrollment. Also contributing to the improving rates of attendance was the growing recognition of the career routes education offered.

2. Spiritual Training. While the central government was concerned from the beginning with introducing moral education into the curriculum, it took time to develop acceptable texts. The views of diverse traditions, including religious groups and the Meiji oligarchs, differed substantially leading to long and divisive debate. It was not until 1891 with the proclamation of the Imperial Rescript on Education that some agreement was achieved. The early curriculum essentially emphasized the values of a 19th century liberal society committed to national development and the preservation of familistic values. Over time, the compilers of the texts became increasingly zealous in their identification with the national purpose, resulting in increasingly biased and nationalistic themes being introduced into the texts. My favorite example of

this trend concerns the treatment of Socrates. In the earlier morals texts, Socrates was merely described as a wise man in ancient Greece who lived an aesthetic life of the mind. However, by the thirties, Socrates became a Greek soldier who "went to war three times to fight bravely for his country". A fifth grade morals text describes Socrates' trial and then Crito's attempt to persuade Socrates to escape. The story concludes with Socrates making a long speech revering law and nationhood:

> Crito, I am grateful for your kindness. However, as you know very well, up to this day I have followed the paths of virtue and have persuaded others to do likewise. How can I say that because my life is valuable (it is all right to go against my principles) and do even a single thing contrary to what is ordered by the national laws? If the citizens of a country did such unlawful things, the country would not be able to exist. My parents, my grandparents, and I have all grown to adulthood receiving the benefits of our country. We exist because of our country. Whatever the law orders, no matter what it is, we should obey. I love my country and I have gone to war three times at the risk of my life. Could I bring myself to trample on the sacred laws of the country which I love so dearly, and run away somewhere now? Crito, we must obey the laws.[9]

Throughout the ethics texts of the thirties, one finds explicit accounts of the bravery of soldiers, their willing sacrifice for the nation, and the benevolence of the Emperor.

Despite these intensified efforts to use education in channeling the moral inclinations of the populace, many young people failed to conform with the official morality. Especially in the period from 1917 to the mid-thirties, there were frequent incidents of student protest, labor revolt, and other expressions of ideological deviance. The central government responded in a manner that would shock contemporary defenders of civil rights: teachers at all levels in the education system were relieved of their positions and many intellectuals were imprisoned and subjected to brainwashing treatments. Christian schools were forbidden to teach doctrines that the state considered incompatible with its official ideology, and some Christians were persecuted. Communists, in particular, were subjected to intense harassment, It was only as Japan moved into full-scale war against the Allied Powers that the incidence of deviance and rebellion subsided.

3. Technical Training. Despite the governments commitment to the development of technical manpower, implementation was slow and uneven. Industrial groups made repeated requests through the eighties and nineties, but it was not until 1903 that the government promulgated the specialized school order (senmongakkorei) and began to systematize its program for training engineers and technicians. Official programs for training skilled workers were not established until even later. Many accounts of Japanese education marvel at the government's prescience in establishing those specialized schools and assume that the graduates from these schools played an important role in stimulating Japanese industrialization. However, investigators who have followed the careers of specialty school graduates provide evidence against this. In several instances, well over half the graduates went into fields that had little relation to their training.[10] The government tended to establish

these schools in response to local demands. But by the time the government had established a school, the local area often found alternate means to satisfy the demand, thus rendering the schools useless for their intended purpose.

4. The Meritocracy. The government was determined to make the Imperial University at Tokyo the foremost institution of learning in the nation. Thus, this institution was provided comparatively generous annual grants for its operation, and its graduates received favorable treatment in the competition for civil service jobs. As other sectors of society began to develop a need for highly trained manpower, they also turned to the Imperial University. Within a short period, this institution was supplying the personnel for a variety of elite careers.

Makoto Aso sampled several hundred elites from each of several editions of the Jinji Koshin Roku and investigated several of their background characteristics (see Table 2.1). In the earliest period, a majority of the elites had not attended a university; however, among those who had attended about half were Imperial University (Todai) graduates. The Todai graduates were especially numerous in the civil service, education, and business. The military, which had its own academy, was the one modern elite sector where Todai graduates failed to gain a significant proportion. Over time the number of elites who had attended a university inincreased, yet up to World War II nearly half of these continued to be graduates of Todai. The proportion of Todai graduates among the elite civil servants and educators declined only modestly. Since World War II, Todai's proportion has declined somewhat but still

Table 2.1. Per Cent of Japanese Elites Who Attended The University of Tokyo (Todai) from 1903 to 1964

Occupation	Todai Graduates as a Per Cent of All Elites Who Attended a Higher Educational Institution					
	1903	1915	1928	1939	1955	1964
National Civil Service	73	65	76	65	42	41
Business Leaders	66	33	28	21	18	14
Land Owners	0	0	0	0	-	-
Military	0	20	0	8	-	-
Educators, Professors	88	88	52	63	45	36
Doctors	-	50	100	41	11	17
Lawyers	-	66	-	0	17	31
Artists	-	-	-	0	22	25
Religious Leaders	-	0	-	0	0	50
Opinion Leaders	-	-	-	0	0	20
Politicians	0	-	100	0	18	30
Noblemen	17	100	20	36	-	-
Other	50	0	0	9	8	-
Todai Graduates as a Percent of Elites who Attended a Higher Educational Institution	55	44	36	46	34	21
Per Cent of Elites who Attended a Higher Educational Institution	28	26	37	53	77	94
Todai Graduates as a Per Cent of all Elites	12	14	17	19	19	17

Makoto Aso, *Erito to Kyoiku* (Elites and Education), Tokyo: Fukumura Shuppan, 1967, pp. 217-219.

represents a sizeable fraction in most of the elite fields. Considering all elite fields, the proportion who attended Todai increased from 12 per cent in 1903 to 17 per cent in 1964.

As ambitious youths came to appreciate the importance of attending the Imperial University, increasing numbers began to set their sights on entrance to this institution. As the government allowed only slight increases in Todai's size, many youths were destined to be disappointed. Still these youths committed themselves to the necessary preparation by attending a middle school and seeking entrance to a higher school. In that the Imperial University could not accommodate them, the youths and their families demended alternative higher educational opportunities. The government's initial response was to establish several additional Imperial Universities in new locations--the second was established in Kyoto in 1897 and eventually came to rival Todai in its scale and eminence. Other Imperial Universities were established in Tohoku, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Nagoya, and Osaka. Still the public demand was not satisfied, so in 1918 the government promulgated a University Law which considerably liberalized the criteria for granting a university charter. Over the next years, many secondary institutions, including several in the private sector, upgraded their standards to achieve recognition as universities. By the time of the Great Depression, Japan had 30 universities serving approximately 40,000 university-level students, or producing nearly 15,000 graduates each year. However, there was no way for the Japanese economy to absorb all of this highly trained manpower, at least in their chosen specialities. In the "softer" fields, well over half the graduates failed to secure a job even after several months of search.[11] These unemployed intellectuals provided the core leadership for certain of the rebellious movements we noted earlier. Of course, eventually these highly educated youths ended up in jobs which did not require their level of education. But because university graduates took up these jobs, the jobs came to be designated as suitable only for people with degrees, thus leading to additional stimulation of the demand for education. Ronald Dore, reflecting on this situation, suggests that Japan was the first of the new states to catch *The Diploma Disease*.[12]

Government leaders promoted the *ideology of opportunity* through education. And numerous examples of successful individuals rising from humble backgrounds were cited as evidence that the educational system provided opportunities to all, regardless of their background. But the opportunities were unequal. The state made certain that every child attended a primary school and, insofar as practical, attempted to spread secondary schools throughout the nation. However, the tuitions for these post-compulsory schools were substantial and apart from the normal and military schools, scholarships were rare. In general, local primary schools tended to reflect the hierarchy of their communities. Teachers, perhaps recognizing their obligations to the local elites (who as members of the local school board did in fact control appointments), tended to favor the children of the established families. The children of the better homes were most likely to get high grades, pass exams, and move up in the educational system.

Many of the poor youth living in rural villages resented the inequities promoted by the educational system. For these youths, going to a normal school or a military school was the only realistic post-compulsory educational opportunity. It has been suggested that their feelings of class hostility go a long way toward explaining their willingness, once they became adults and entered the military or assumed teacher roles, to blindly support those discontented ultranationalistic rebels who both opposed the privileged classes and urged an imperialistic war. According to this interpretation, Japan's involvement in the Second World War was a reflection of her domestic class warfare.[14]

Background for the Occupation Reforms

Japanese society made impressive strides toward realizing the goals designated by the Meiji rebels. By the mid-thirties, the national institutions were effectively unified under a strong central regime. The economy was diversified, the military was strong, and the people were loyal. Education, despite its many shortcomings, had aided in each of these developments. If Japan had managed a more successful conclusion of World War II, the central government might have retained the old system in essentially unaltered form.

By September of 1945, Japan had no choice but to declare unconditional surrender. In anticipation of Japan's fall, the Allied Powers on July 26, 1945, issued the Potsdam Declaration which declared their intent to remove

> all obstacles to the survival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, religion, and of thought, as well

> as respect for the fundamental rights shall be established.[15]

In addition, they had given some consideration to the specific changes that would be introduced. However, there was no way that the Allies could full prepare for the situation they encountered. As one observer put it:

> The nation that had been so remarkably successful and had believed so implicitly in its own divinity and invincibility was defeated in 1945. It was physically devastated; its cities were demolished, its homes, temples, schools as well as industry were in ruins. Its farms were exhausted from want of fertilizer, its fishing fleets were destroyed. People were reduced to near starvation. An estimated 1,850,000 Japanese were dead. Public morale had collapsed. The citizens, nurtured in the Shinto faith that theirs was a divine land under a divine Emperor, now felt these beliefs had been proven false. The normally disciplined and determined Japanese were confused and dazed. Schools were closed and some 19 million schoolchildren were idle.[16]

While Japan had surrendered to the Allied forces as a whole, the actual task of implementing the spirit of the Potsdam Declaration was assumed by an American Occupation government headed by General Douglas MacArthur. The Occupation was instructed to work through the existing Japanese government and Emperor but not to support them. In the early months, the Occupation issued a number of directives to the Japanese government, and among these were several intended to remove all militaristic and ultranationalistic influences. Thus, in the field of education, the courses of moral education, geography, and Japanese history which were considered supportive of the wartime ideology were temporarily suspended. A purge of those educational officials and teachers who had played key roles in promoting the wartime ideology was begun. Over 120,000 teachers, or one-fourth of those in the profession, were either purged or resigned in order to avoid the threat of a purge. Similar steps were taken to remove officials and responsible individuals in all sectors of life from business to the arts. The removal of these nationalistic elements from former positions of prominence and the appointment of "liberals" in their stead considerably facilitated the Occupation's reform program.

One of the first major goals of the Occupation was to establish the foundation for a more democratic mode of government. A special committee of the Diet was charged with the task of drafting a new constitution, and when it faltered, the Occupation submitted its own proposal. Ultimately, a version identical in most respects to that proposed by the Occupation was ratified in November of 1946 by the Diet. The preamble clearly reflects its American authorship.

> We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this Constitution. Government is a sacred trust of the people, the authority for which is derived from the people, the

> powers of which are exercised by the representatives of the people, and the benefits of which are enjoyed by the people. This is a universal principle of mankind upon which this Constitution is founded.[17]

In contrast with the Meiji Constitution, several articles of the new "Peace Constitution" dealt with educational matters. Article 20 declared "the State and its organs shall refrain from religious education". Article 23 stated "academic freedom is guaranteed". And Article 26 stated "all people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their ability".

Whereas the old system had been created through a series of Imperial decrees and administrative orders, the new educational system was based in the Constitution and in Laws that were debated and legislated by the National Diet. As we will see in Chapter Three, this change to a legislative basis in combination with the emergence of progressive political parties that developed an interest in educational policy resulted in a lively postwar educational dialogue.

A New Educational Philosophy

To aid in the development of concrete proposals for educational reforms, the Occupation invited twenty-seven distinguished American educators to Japan in March of 1947. These educators, known as the U.S. Education Mission to Japan, produced a Report which provides the clearest statement of the philosophy underlying the subsequent reform. The opening statement of this report echoed the Occupation's goal of helping Japan to develop a new education appropriate to a liberal democratic society. It urged the development of an educational philosophy which recognizes "the worth and dignity of the individual" and that would "prepare the individual to become a responsible and cooperating member of society". The Report enumerated several weaknesses of the old system.

> The Japanese system of education in its organization and curricular provisions would have been due for reform in accordance with modern theories of education even if there had not been injected into it ultra-nationalism and militarism. The system was based on a nineteenth century pattern which was highly centralized, providing one type of education for the masses and another for the privileged few. It held that at each level of instruction there is a fixed quantum of knowledge to be absorbed, and tended to disregard differences in the ability and interests of pupils. Through prescription, textbooks, examinations and inspection, the system lessened the opportunities of teachers to exercise professional freedom. The measure of efficiency was the degree to which standardization and uniformity were secured.[18]

The Report then turned to a consideration of reforms that might alleviate these weaknesses. It is not necessary for us to consider all of these, since many of them were never realized. However, as background for the subsequent discussion, we will wish to consider in some detail what happened to the Mission's proposals for a new educational philosophy, a new single-track structure, a decentralization of control, and an improvement in the situation of teachers.

To translate the Mission's recommendation into concrete reform proposals, an Educational Reform Council was established with official status equivalent to the Ministry of Education. As its first task, the Council considered the development of a statement of the philosphy of the new system which might replace the old system's Imperial Rescript. The Council ultimately decided that the specifics of the new education should be worked out by the local communities, school boards, and schools that were in closer contact with the desires of the people, and that it would be inappropriate to draft such statements from above. Nevertheless, in the Fundamental Law of Education, one of the first laws drafted by the Council, we find a statement of the new aim of education.

> Education shall aim at the full development of personality, striving for the rearing of the people, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual value, respect labour, and have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with an independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful state and society.[19]

The Structure of the New System

To realize the new democratic philosphy, the U.S. Education Mission urged a new structure for Japanese education. The key features included the following:

1. A six-year free compulsory primary school which "should prepare children to become healthy, active, thinking citizens eager to develop their innate abilities".[20]

2. In contrast with the old system where several different

non-compulsory tracks had opened up after the primary school, the Mission Report recommended

> that there be established for the next three years beyond the primary school, a "lower secondary school" for all boys and girls, providing fundamentally the same type of curriculum for all with such adjustments as are necessary to meet individual needs. The main purposes should be similar to those of the primary school, with emphasis upon personal development, citizenship, and community life. Into this school should be introduced certain opportunities of an exploratory nature in the vocational field.[21]

Apart from the old system, the lower secondary (middle) schools should also be free, compulsory, and coeducational.

3. Beyond the lower secondary schools, the Report recommended a free coeducational three-year high school "open to all who desired to attend" that was modeled, insofar as possible, along the lines of the American comprehensive high school.[22] That is, the school should include the courses that would both enable students to prepare for college and to acquire vocational skills.

4. The Report emphasized the potential role of the university in fostering liberal thought and urged that this become "an opportunity for the many, not the few". Moreover, the Report suggested that the university with its liberal atmosphere provide a more favorable setting for teacher education than the separate normal schools characteristic of the old system.

These recommendations, adopted virtually without modification in the School Education Law of 1947, required a massive reorgainzation of the existing school facilities. To comply with the new requirements for compulsory middle school education, many new institutions had to be established. Due to war, damage of existing facilities and a shortage of revenues, educational administrators in most areas faced an extremely grave situation. Yet somehow by the end of the Occupation, these areas were able to achieve the necessary results. The structure of the new educational system is contrasted with the old in Figure 2.1.

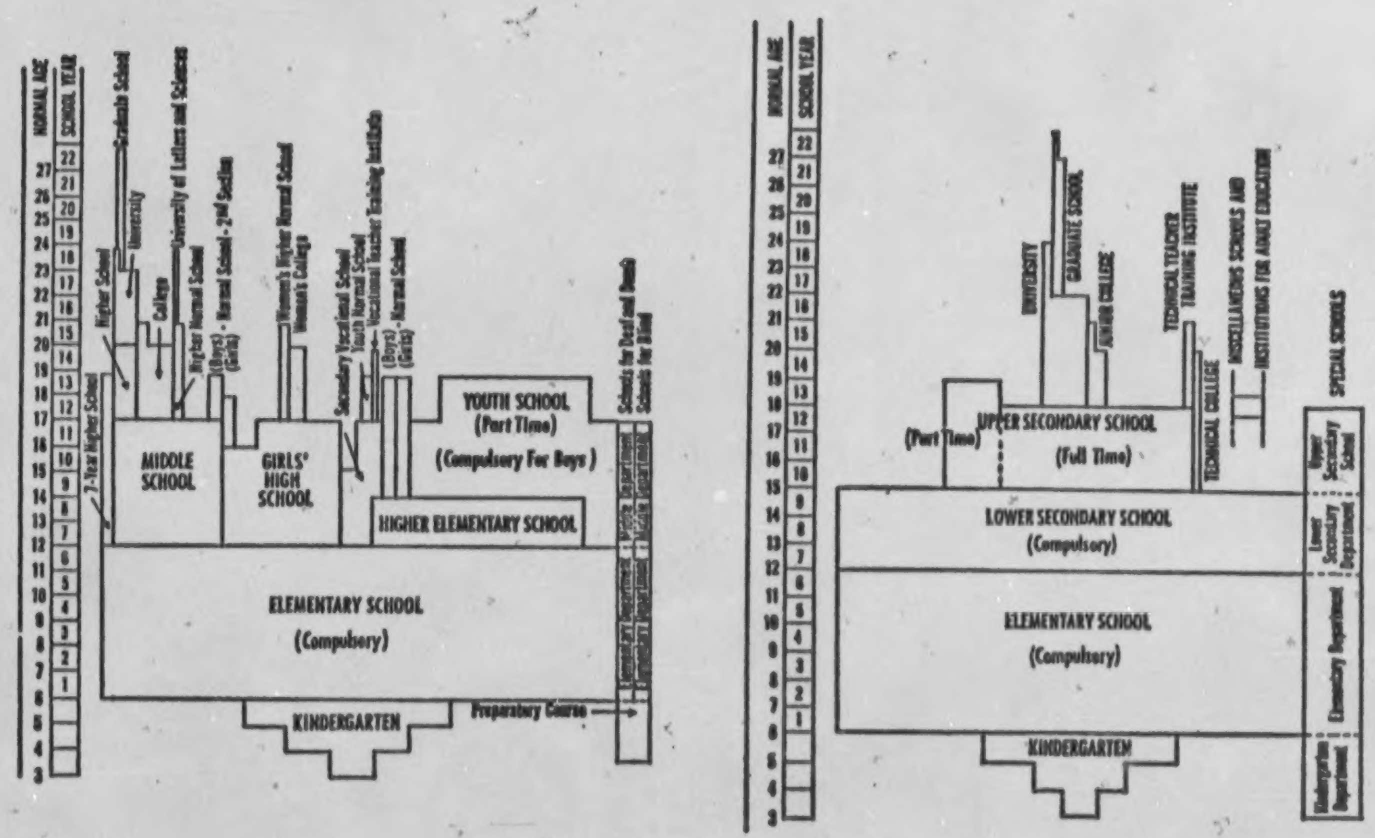
In terms of our subsequent discussion, two differences deserve special emphasis:

1. By extending compulsory education from six to nine years, it postponed the point at which pupils began their preparation for competitive entrance exams.

2. The new structure, through placing all students on a single track and reducing tuition at public schools, enabled a far greater proportion of youth to acquire the necessary academic background for attending a university or other higher educational institution. As we will see in Chapter Eight, the response to these new opportunities was immediate, resulting in steady pressure for expansion of the post-compulsory educational facilities.

Educational authorities have barely managed to keep up with the demand for places, by allowing the establishment of numerous sub-standard institutions. However, in so doing, they have aggravated the longstanding problems of academic competition for entry to the highest quality post-compulsory insitutions. Chapter Eight provides a detailed examination of this development.

FIGURE 2.1. SCHEMATIC CONTRAST: JAPANESE SCHOOL SYSTEM



The Japanese School System, 1937

The Japanese School System, 1963

NORMAL AGE
SCHOOL YEAR
Graduate School
University
University of Letters and Sciences
Higher School
College
Higher Normal School
(Boys) (Girls) - Normal School - 2nd Section
Women's Higher Normal School
Women's College
Secondary Vocational School
Youth Normal School
Vocational Teacher Training Institute
(Boys) (Girls) - Normal School
7-Year Higher School
MIDDLE SCHOOL
GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL
YOUTH SCHOOL (Part Time) (Compulsory For Boys)
HIGHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (Compulsory)
KINDERGARTEN
Preparatory Course
Schools for Deaf and Dumb
Schools for Blind
UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL
JUNIOR COLLEGE
TECHNICAL TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTE
TECHNICAL COLLEGE
MISCELLANEOUS SCHOOLS AND INSTITUTIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION
SPECIAL SCHOOLS
(Part Time)
UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL (Full Time)
LOWER SECONDARY SCHOOL (Compulsory)
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (Compulsory)
KINDERGARTEN
Upper Secondary School
Lower Secondary Department
Elementary Department
Kindergarten Department

Source: Herbert Passin, Society and Education in Japan, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1965, pp. 308-309.

Decentralization of Control

Possibly the most persistent theme in the U.S. Education Mission's Report was the danger of concentrating too much authority in the hands of the central bureaucracy.

> An educational system, controlled by an entrenched bureaucracy recruited from a narrow group, which reduces the chances of promotion on merit, which provides little opportunity for investigation and research, and which refuses to tolerate criticism, deprives itself automatically of the means of progress... Experience indicates that the centralized system is more vulnerable from the standpoint of manipulation and exploitation by powers either outside or inside the system...
>
> The control of the instructional program should be more dispersed than at present; vertical lines of authority and responsibility should be definitely broken at certain levels of the system.[23]

Along with the recommendation that more authority be shifted to local governments, the Report encouraged the formation of parent-teacher associations and other popular groups that serve as a check and as vehicles for generating new viewpoints on education. The Report urged the formation of professional associations for teachers and even approved the organization of teacher!s unions, adding "no democratic principle is more crucial than the right to assemble for the extension of ideas".

The Occupation enthusiastically supported the Mission's recommendation for a more decentralized educational system, and quickly took several steps to implement this change. The Ministry of Education was relieved of its power to censor textbooks, special funds were made available to support the formation of PTAs, and teachers' unions were allowed to organize at the expense of the pro-government teachers' association, which rapidly lost membership. However, as the Occupation began to press for additional ways of promoting decentralization, it encountered numerous obstacles. Among these was the Occupation's need to rely on the central government for the implementation of the complex reform programs. By the time the Educational Reform Council began drafting proposals for the decentralization of educational control, the domestic political climate had become more complicated and the National Diet more reluctant to approve Occupation-promoted reforms.

In the context of this new political situation, a Private School Law was passed which gave private schools at all levels much greater autonomy than they had enjoyed under the old system. The U.S. Education Mission had urged such a reform in the hope of diversifying the types of educational opportunities available to Japanese youth. In addition, the Mission, recognizing the serious financial situation of private schools, urged that some steps be taken to provide them with aid from public sources. Unfortunately, little action was taken to improve the finances of private schools, leading to a situation where many of these schools were forced to permanently reduce their academic standards.

Occupation officials hoped to see authority for the control of school education divided up among a large number of local school districts just as in the U.S. However, the Educational Reform Council argued that most local areas lacked the financial resources, administrative experience, and political wisdom to manage their own schools. For different reasons, this judgment was supported by both the conservative government and the leadership of the progressive teachers' union. These differences threatened the likelihood of achieving Diet approval for bills detailing procedures for localized control and administration.

Finally in 1949 the Diet enacted a law turning over the control of education to locally elected school boards, but actual implementation was staggered over a six-year period. A parallel bill to remove control of national universities from the central government and place them in the hands of boards of trustees failed. Administrative orders were used to decentralize certain other responsibilities. Yet all things considered, it would have to be concluded that far less than anticipated was achieved with respect to this particular reform theme.

The Situation of Teachers

Another recurrent concern in the U.S. Education Mission's *Report* was the oppressed and impoverished situation of teachers. The Mission was obviously impressed with the dedication of many teachers, but felt they had suffered from lack of autonomy. At several points, the Mission's *Report* criticized the intrusions of governmental authorities into the classroom.

> We have seen that the effects of the old regime are manifest in the teaching practices. Teachers have been told exactly what to teach and how to teach it. Teaching has been, by and large, formal and stereotyped. To prevent any deviation from the prescribed content

> and form, inspectors have been charged with the duty of seeing that printed instructions were followed to the letter. Such a system has the effect of putting teaching in a straitjacket.
>
> If the teacher is given sufficient freedom, he will make use of many facilities outside the school to enrich the learning of pupils. Farms, factories, offices, libraries, museums and hospitals provide educational opportunities. In some cases where classes are too large, a teacher skilled in democratic processes can call upon student leadership, breaking up the class into smaller groups under student chairmen.[24]

The Mission enthusiastically endorsed the need for teachers to form professional associations of their own, and emphasized that while governmental bodies might want to encourage such associations, "it is true that the most effective meetings of teachers are usually those which the teachers themselves organize". The Mission suggested that the wartime government's heavy hand led to a situation where teachers lost confidence in the government.

> The teachers of Japan, in so far as their views have been represented to the Mission, are critical and restless and are looking for leadership outside the Department of Education.[25]

Clearly the Mission looked to teachers and their associations as major forces for building the new education. In response to these recommendations, the Occupation developed an extensive program to help Japanese teachers acquire democratic pedagogical techniques and provided considerable encouragement to fledgling teacher associations

Even when these associations took on some of the characteristics of a trade union, the Occupation looked on approvingly at first. As one official in the Labor Division put it:

> The working classes constitute, potentially, the strongest if not the only reliable base for a democratic regime in Japan... Japanese labor holds the key to success orfailure in the attempt to convert Japan from a dangerous enemy into a good neighbor.[26]

The new constitution fully recognized the right of labor to organize, and the Occupation was initially disinclined to introduce any special qualifications for civil servants or teachers. As the U.S. Education Mission Report indicated, Japan's teachers were grossly underpaid.

The Occupation's views were exceedingly liberal for that period. Even in the U.S., teachers were not permitted to form unions. Moreover, the Occupation's position was at considerable variance with the preference of most Japanese government officials. The liberal Yoshishigo Abe, who served as Minister of Education in 1946, questioned the propriety of allowing teachers to organize. Yet through the middle of 1947, the Occupation remained firm in its liberal position and union leaders made great progress in their organizing efforts. Well over half of all teachers had joined a union, and rival groups were moving toward some form of federation.

A number of factors, however, led the Occupation to retreat from this original liberal position. For instance, the U.S. government's perception of "international communism" was going through a significant transformation, and this led to suspicions about the relationship of Japan's union leadership to this worldwide conspiracy. Also, after an ineffective attempt in 1947 by a leftist coalition to assume control of the central government, the Occupation developed greater respect for Japan's conservative political leaders.

The Occupation gradually came to feel that Japanese labor was demanding too much. For example, in early 1947 after the Occupation had already promised government employees a substantial wage increase, the unions representing these employees agreed to participate with private sector unions in a general strike. General MacArthur was so upset by this plan that he personally intervened. Referring to the general strike as a deadly "social weapon in the present impoverished and emaciated condition of Japan", he ordered the unions to abandon their plans.[27]

In the immediate aftermath of this particular confrontation, the unions modified their conflictual orientation. For the first time ever in Japanese history, the Ministry of Education agreed to enter collective bargaining with Zenkyokyo, the most prominent teachers' union. As a result of the bargaining, teachers achieved many of the benefits promised by union leaders a year earlier.

The collective bargaining in early 1947 seemed to imply that the government had decided to recognize the rightful existence of unions. However, events over the next two years proved otherwise. In 1948, the Occupation refused to interfere as the Japanese government cleverly framed a series of laws and administrative orders concerning public employees that effectively deprived teachers' unions of their power to bargain with the central government. In 1949, the Occupation carried out a "red purge" which led to the imprisonment of a number of union leaders.

Thus, after appearing to recognize the right of teachers to organize, the government and the Occupation subsequently recanted. Surprisingly, these actions, rather than turning teachers away from their unions, seemed to increase their commitment. By the latter years of the Occupation, three-quarters of Japan's teachers had joined unions. Most of these unions became federated in a single national organization known as Nikkyoso. In 1952, Nikkyoso proclaimed its "Code of Ethics for Teachers", which, in fact, was a manifesto of goals for the union's postwar educational struggle. Included among these were the following:

> --Teachers shall fight for equal opportunity in education.
>
> --Teachers shall protect peace.
>
> --Teachers shall allow no infringements on freedom in education.
>
> --Teachers shall fight side by side with parents against corruption in society and shall create a new culture.[28]

Conclusion

The Meiji government, through strong central leadership, laid the foundations for Japan's old system of education. This system was reasonably effective in developing a common national morality, in training technical manpower, and in selecting a talented central elite. Yet from the point of view of the American Occupation which came to Japan following the termination of World War II, these achievements had contributed in significant ways to the extremist tendencies that led to Japan's involvement in the war. Thus, the

Occupation contemplated a massive reform of the "old system". We have reviewed several of the central concerns of the Occupation reformers. Perhaps the Occupation's greatest legacy was the democratic and humanistic philosophy of education which, under its stewardship, became implanted in the constitution and the basic educational laws. Also, a new 6-3-3-4 structure was begun and steps were taken to improve the status and increase the autonomy of teachers. Other of the Occupation's proposed reforms, particularly those concerning decentralization of authority, were less successful. While some domestic educational groups identified with these reforms, others hotly opposed them. Thus, when the Occupation left Japan in 1952 the fate of many of its reforms was uncertain. The domestic educational struggle to which we turn in Chapter Three would determine the ultimate outcome.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND THE TEACHER'S UNION

(Below is a summary of Chapter which is not included in the final report)

In Chapter Two we observed that the Occupation emphasized the importance of an independent teaching profession and urged an improvement in the condition of teachers. Thus the Occupation allowed teachers to form unions and exert pressure for better wages and working conditions. After taking these progressive steps, however, the Occupation backed away from its support of teachers. In fact, in 1949 it did nothing to stop the Japanese government from enacting regulations which effectively deprived teachers of their collective bargaining rights. Under these circumstances, the government anticipated that the unions would lese their membership. Instead the unions consolidated into the nationwide Japan Teachers Union (nikkyoso). This union has continued to count three-quarters of all teachers in its ranks throughout the postwar period and has contributed in important ways to the postwar dialogue on educational policy.

In this chapter, we begin with a brief outline of the major interest groups concerned with education and their social backing. We show how the national government draws its support from the heads of large corporations as well as the traditional sectors of the economy, this alliance we call the establishment. In contrast, the teachers union is close to other labor groups as well as the modern middle class. Over the course of the postwar period, the establishment and the teachers union have developed conflicting views concerning the conduct of education. The establishment has placed greater emphasis on the policies that characterized the old system whereas the union has emphasized the goals promoted by the Occupation. Our review of these interest groups and their concerns provides essential background for examining the following interrelated questions: (1) How has the union been able to continue to enlist the support of teachers? (2) What has been the union's impact on education?

With respect to the union's ability to maintain teacher allegiance, we consider the following factors:

(a) the union's skill in identifying controversial policies of the government that many teachers and parents object to and opposing these.

(b) the close relation the union has developed with professors at many of the universities where the fresh cohorts of teachers are trained.

(c) the effort the union devotes to capturing the loyalty of young teachers with its workshops and other youth programs.

(d) demographic trends which have undermined the national importance of the traditional sectors where local elites are more militant in their opposition to the union.

With respect to the union's impact, we make a distinction between policy-making and policy implementation. Over the course of the postwar period, the central government has been able to enact many new educational policies. We review several that the union has opposed. When the union opposes a government policy, we find teachers fail to comply with the policy and it usually is inadequately implemented.

Because (1) the union ascribes to democratic and egalitarian teaching goals and (2) nearly three-fourths of Japan's teachers are union members and responsive in some degree to union leadership, we conclude the union is an important cause of Japan's egalitarian education. The union has enabled teachers to resist unwarranted external influences. Teaching practices do not "correspond" with the demands of the establishment.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For a translation of the Charter Oath, see Warren Tsuneichi et al., Sources of Japanese Tradition, New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, p. 643.

[2] For a translation of the Code, see Herbert Passin, Society and Education in Japan, New York: Teachers College Press, 1965, p. 209-11.

[3] For an outstanding biography of Mori, see Ivan Hall. Mori Arinori Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

[4] This quote is translated from Mombusho, Gakusei Hyakunenshi (100 year History of Japanese Education), Vol. 1. Tokyo: Teikoku Chiho Gyosei Gakkai, 1972, pp. 270-6.

[5] Quoted in Robert K. Hall. Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation, New York: Teacher's College Bureau of Publications, 1949, pp. 27-8.

[6] Quoted in Taki Fujita, "The Higher Education of Women in Japan," in Education in Japan (Papers Presented at the World Federation of Educational Associations Seventh Biennial Conference, Tokyo, 1937), Tokyo: Tokyo Printing Co., 1938, p. 121.

[7] Ira J. Burnstein. The American Movement to Develop Protestant Colleges for Men in Japan, 1868-1912. University of Michigan (Comparative Education Dissertation Series, No. 11), 1967.

[8] For a discussion of the problems involved in meeting enrollment goals, see Mombusho, op. cit., 192ff.

[9] From Hall, op. cit., p. 105.

[10] See Ryoichi Iwanchi. "Industrial Training in Japan, 1890-1930," Parts I & II. Bulletin of the Tokyo Institute of Technology, No. III: 41-49; No. 114: 63-86.

[11] For a summary of relevant evidence, see Walter Kotschnig, Unemployment in the Learned Professions.

[12] Ronald Dore, The Diploma Disease. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

[13] Two leading Japanese educational sociologists write about this period: "Schools constituted a means for reproducing the respective social strata. At the same time, because of their institutional openness, schools served as the ladder leading up to success in life for people of the lower middle and upper lower classes who had high ability and a strong desire to move upward." See Makoto Aso nd Ikuo Amano, Education and Japan's Modernization, Japan: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1972, p. 31.

[14] One version of this argument is developed by Ronald Dore in Land Reform in Japan, London: Oxford University Press, 1950.

[15] As cited in Ronald S. Anderson, Education in Japan: A Century of Modern Development, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1975, p. 61.

[16] Ibid.

[17] As cited in George M. Beckmann. The Modernization of China and Japan, New York: Harper & Row, 1962, p. 673.

[18] United States Education Mission to Japan, Report, Tokyo. Mimeo, March 30, 1946, p. 4.

[19] As cited in Anderson, op. cit., p. 349.

[20] *Report*, p. 18.

[21] *Ibid*.

[22] *Ibid*.

[23] *Ibid*, p. 4.

[24] *Ibid*, p. 23.

[25] *Ibid*, p. 4.

[26] As quoted in Benjamin C. Duke, *Japan's Militant Teachers*, Honolulu: An East-West Center Book, 1973, p. 52.

[27] As quoted in Duke, *op. cit*., p. 63.

[28] A completion translation of the Code is provided by Duke, *op*. *cit*., pp. 224-227.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPORTANCE OF CLASS AND FAMILY

An impressive body of research in advanced societies indicates that the social class into which a young person is born has a significant association with his (or her) achievements in school and later in society. Similarly a number of studies indicate a relation between class of origin and value acquisition.[1] The available research suggests similar associations in Japan, though the strength of the relations is often weaker.[2] The standard interpretation of these associations goes as follows:

1. An adult's social class can best be identified by the type of work performed by the head of the household to which he (or she) belongs. This work role is the major source of the family's income, status, power and social networks.

2. Moreover, the work role leads incumbents and the adult members of their families to accept a wide range of class-specific norms. These class-specific norms include prescriptions for ideal family structure and appropriate child-rearing practices.

3. The families of different social classes tend to observe their class norms. Thus the families of the respective classes differ in their structure and child-rearing practices.

4. These class-specific differences in family structure and child-rearing practices have a differentiating impact on the cognitive skills and values of children from the earliest years of their development (the family-first assumption)

5. Moreover, the contexts for the children of the respective classes differ in important ways. The educational resources available in their homes, the neighborhoods in which they play, the schools they attend, and the way teachers respond to their efforts are all permeated by their class position. These contextual features reinforce the initial family based personality characteristics.

6. Thus children from the respective classes come to differ in their values, skills, and achievements. While some children will be mobile, the general tendency is for the class system through these processes to reproduce itself.

These propositions underlie the mainstream interpretation of the well-known empirical association between class and individual development. Individual investigators introduce their qualifications: for example, concerning the operational measure for class, the extent to which class is said to determine family, and the extent to which reproduction is realized. Yet if we allow for these qualifications we discover that conservatives and liberals are as firm in their adherence to these proposition as radicals.[3]

Still, we find a minority who object to one or the other of these propositions. In this chapter, we are particularly concerned with the validity of the family first proposition (No. 4) and the proposition that families observe their class norms (No. 3). It was Ogburn who first questioned the family first assumption in his well-known thesis that technological change was causing the family to lose its functions. David Riesman in the Lonely Crowd also suggested the family's demise;[4] in Riesman's opinion, other-directed youth were more susceptible to the influence of their peer group than that of their parents. In the first chapter, we summarized other criticisms of the family first proposition by Albert Reiss and Kenneth Prewitt. Insofar as it can be shown early family experiences are not so influential, it becomes more reasonable to accept evidence that later experiences such as schooling and work affect individual development.

A second objection is to question whether families follow their class norms, or indeed whether class norms are distinct. Talcott Parsons in reaction to Ogburn's loss of function thesis has argued that the modern family is simply more specialized and its effective performance of its more limited functions is more important than ever.[5] In this argument, Parsons strongly supports the family first assumption. However, Parsons does not identify class differentiated family norms. Rather he sees all families as conforming in greater or lesser degree to the contemporary middle class norm. Others have advanced a similar position.

These two objections suggest the following table. Along the horizontal axis are arranged the two positions on class differences in family norms, and along the vertical axis the two positions vis-a-vis the family first proposition.

TABLE 4.1

PERSPECTIVES ON THE CLASS AND THE FAMILY

		Class-Differentiated Family Norms	
		Yes	No
Family is First	Yes	Mainstream	Parsons
	No	Ogburn	Postwar Japan

If we were to rely on the common folklore concerning the Japanese family, there would be little need to express any interest in these objections.

Traditionally, Japanese society was rigidly stratified and families were expected to perform a major role in child development. Confucius, the great sage who had such a profound influence on Japan's institutions, considered the family to be the fundamental agent of socialization and social control. In his Greater Learning we find the well-known adage: "Their family being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the Whole Kingdom was tranquil and happy."[6] Also, the available information indicates there were significant class differences in personality development. However, a number of leading Japanese social scientists question whether these generalizations hold for the postwar period.

Mikio Sumiya, perhaps Japan's leading student of value transmission, says "the Japanese family has completely surrendered its educative function to a single-minded value: getting children the best possible formal education so they can enter social life with the best possible academic background."[7] Similarly Tadashi Fukutake, the dean of community studies in Japan, reports "today's parents lack self-confidence in child-rearing and they seem to be growing even less certain about what methods are best."[8] These observers are raising the objections to the mainstream interpretation we have summarized in Table 4.1. They propose that class and family have declined in importance as determinants of individual development. This chapter will review the available evidence.

Class and Family Structure Through World War II

Scholars who investigate Japanese families report a variety of family types, and at least through World War II they find a close relation between these types and the family's class position. Most of Japan's family types share a notion that they are a stem (*ie*) of a broad family tradition and thus they attempt to achieve continuity from one generation to the next by designating successive main family heads. Where a head is not available among the male blood kin, adoption may be resorted to. Or where there are several male siblings, one will be selected to continue the main line, and providing family resources are sufficient the others will be encouraged to set up branch families. Through these procedures, most *ie* groups perpetuate themselves over several generations.[9] Thus families make a good deal of fuss about their ancestors including ancestral shrines and periodic trips to the tomb where earlier generations are buried. In this respect Japanese families differ from the nuclear family characteristic of much of the West which forms and dissolves with each generation.

While the notion of ie provides a common thread, in other respects there has been much diversity of family structure, based in class and regional cultures. Referring to the Tokugawa period, Befu draws a simple contrast between the families of warriors and peasants: whereas the samurai practiced exogamy, endogamy was common among the peasants, the prominent role of family heads and go-between in selecting marriage partners in the samurai classes contrasted with the reliance on youth-initiated trial marriages among the peasantry. While samurai households tended to include three generations and were subject to the authority of a powerful family head, peasant families were more likely to be nuclear with shared decision-making. The emotional tone in the peasant and warrior homes also differed: while filial piety and the family's welfare were stressed in the samurai household and individual gratification was suppressed, the peasant households were more carefree and hedonic. Within the peasant ranks, one finds additional variations. Whereas trial marriages and female-dominated households were more common in humid Southwestern Japan, male-domination was typical of the northeast.[10] Apart from the samurai-peasant differences, Nakano observes that the merchant and artisan classes had their distinctive variants as well.[11] In contrast with the warrior's ascetism, merchants insofar as they had the means engaged in a much more lavish life-style inviting non-kin to their tables and even supporting concubines. Artisans were carefree in their family life, frequently dissolving alliances and generally living for the moment.

We have seen how there was extensive variation in the structures of families during the feudal period. The Meiji government, partly out of a feeling that the non-samurai variants were a national embarrassment and partly out of a sense that the samurai family system was most conducive to its modernization efforts, initiated a campaign to "samuraize" the family units of all classes. An official family code was promulgated along the lines of the traditional samurai family and an intensive official propoganda campaign promoting the "Japanese family" was launched through the school curriculum and the media. There followed a gradual convergence towards the samurai form--at least as gauged by superficial indicators: for example, from the 1880's one finds a steady decline in divorce rates and the incidence of children born out of wedlock--events that were common outcomes of the peasant trial marraige pattern and the urban artisan class's casual approach to sexaul liasons.[12]

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that these trends indicate the unqualified success of the samuraization process and the elimination of alternate family types. Certain of the converging trends are better understood as a function of other forces, e.g. the demand for "go-betweens" increased simply because in the wake of rapid urbanization many young people found they lacked alternate means of finding mates. Extended families continued to prevail at least in part because young couples in urban areas found the cost of setting up new homes to be beyond their means. Moreover, careful studies of family organization over the course of the early modern period indicate the persistance of considerable variety in family organization and child-rearing practices that had a significant relation to class position.

It would seem that the samurai family ideal gained the widest acceptance in the rural areas and the urban upper classes. However, even in these groups there were many exceptions. For example, in the more marginal farm enterprises the wife necessarily assumed a prominent role in the farm work and in domestic decision-making. Women also were prominent in many merchant homes due to their participation in the family business. In urban areas which up through World War II still accommodated less than half of the population, the nuclear family was more common with the husband working in a salaried position and the wife staying home to take care of the children. Among these urban families, the new middle class whose members often had a samurai background tended to outwardly conform to the official ideology. In contrast, working class families exhibited considerable diversity: some claimed a samurai heritage and, responsive to the official ideology, maintained a sober hierarchical structure whereas other reflected the influence of their more carefree artisan and peasant heritages.

Up through World War II these respective urban subclasses tended to live in segregated areas of the new cities and to hold different child-rearing ideals. The new middle class and the upper strata of the traditional urban and rural classes sought to send their male offspring to the university and into the large bureaus of the modern sector whereas the remaining classes exhibited less ambitious goals. The educational system and the other socialization agencies of this period tended to reinforce the reproduction of the class system.[13] As we have already noted in Chapter Two, there was a decided tendency for class related values and abilities to be transmitted across generations. Thus, despite the propogation of the official family system ideology, there may well have been as great a diversity of family forms in early modern Japan as in the feudal period.

Family Structure Since the War

Since World War II, a number of forces have operated to reduce the diversity in family forms or at least to push a growing proportion of families towards a modal nuclear conjugal form. In this modal form, role relations tend to be complementary and non-hierarchical. In most cases, no more than token respect is paid to the traditional ideals of ie continuity and obedience to family elders.

Among the forces promoting this new model family structure, perhaps the most important single development was the arrival of the American Occupation with its extensive program of reform and reeducation.[14] Certain of the Occupation reforms constituted a direct attack on the earlier class system: many of the most prominent families watched their fortunes dwindle to a pittance; moreover, all but the inner circle of the Imperial Family were stripped of their hereditary aristocratic titles. These reforms, at least for a time, ended the life of wealth and leisure that characterized the Japanese aristocratic family.

Family structure was yet another target of institutional reform. The Meiji government had imposed a particular legal structure for the family which invested tremendous power in the male household head, and left the wife and all but the household heir virtually without rights. Fathers were to be the household's spokesman for all official matters such as property registration, voting, taxes, and what not. Sons could not marry without their father's consent until the age of 30 (25 for girls). Wives had no rights to family property even when the family dissolved, due to their divorce or the husband's death. Rather property passed on intact to the first son as heir to the family line. What is more, the wife did not even have the right to divorce her husband. Whereas the husband could easily obtain a divorce. Among the grounds upon which he could sue were infidelity, failure of the wife to bear a son and the wife's habit of talking too much.

The patriarchal pattern of relations between authoritarian husband-fathers and obedient wives and children was often used as a model for other role relations--as between boss and employees, military officer and his subordinates, professor and his students. Occupation authorities felt the Japanese people moved so easily into hierarchical adult role relations because that was what they had been familiar with since childhood. Viewing hierarchy as antithetical with democracy, they sought to eradicate the problem at its roots. A new family code was introduced which recognized the essential equality of all family members. Wives had equal claim to family property and equal right to seek a divorce. The principles of the stem family and legal primogeniture were abandoned, and each new household was required to register as an independent unit. Children could enter into a marriage without parental consent from the age of 20.

These legal changes set the stage for family change. At the same time, occupation authorities used all the educational means they had at their disposal to familiarize young Japanese with these new ideals. They found especially eager listeners in college students and the army of soldiers returning from the battlefields. What followed was a shocking departure from the former arranged marriage pattern: in 1947 it was reported that over 40 percent of all new marriages were formed by individuals who selected their mates on their own.[15] However, many of these spontaneous marriages ended as quickly as they began and others proved to be less satisfying than those formed through traditional procedures. Gradually an accommodation developed where young people sought at least the approval and often the intervention of their parents or other go-betweens. Thus marriages came to be formed, partly on love and partly on more traditional considerations such as parental judgments of personal compatibility, physical vitality, family status, and so on. While the relative weight of these traditional considerations tends to be somewhat greater in upper class marriages (of both urban and rural areas), still, in far more cases than before the war the partners to be married are allowed the final say on whether they wish to go through with it. Today, the parental role is more advisory and less interventionist.[16]

The rapid economic recovery with the accompanying shift from primary to secondary and tertiary industries has also promoted changes in family structure. Perhaps the most significant consequence of this growth has been the rapid expansion of jobs in large urban corporations and government bureaus to the point that these constitute the most typical and sought after work opportunity. These jobs are often not as remunerative as other possibilities nor do they provide the individual worker with as much freedom as they might enjoy in, for example, a smaller enterprise or their own business. However, thanks to the lifetime employment system, most of these jobs offer security and the chance for a predictable income over the life cycle.

It is especially since World War II that the employee working condition has led to a new _sarariman_ life style.[17] Employees typically take up work immediately upon the completion of at least a high school education; many attend a junior college or full university. In their early working years, they endure an ascetic bachelor's life while learning the company routine and putting away some of their income for later home-building. Many young women also are in the employee sector, but in contrast with their male co-workers, most of the women employees expect to work for only a few short years after which they will become housewives. In the short employee phase of their life-cycle these women tend to use their income to purchase frills, such as nice clothes and overseas trips.

As the employees reach their mid to late twenties, they select a mate and after obtaining parental approval become married and settle down in a humble urban dwelling. The great majority, especially among the females, prefer to set up separate households so they can escape the daily interference of in-laws. Surveys indicate that the members of this class, in part because they have been influenced by the new education, do not feel a strong sense of attachment to the traditional family norms including the need to preserve the _ie_'s continuity or to obey their parents. Thus most _sarariman_ couples begin their marriage in a small apartment, usually considerably distant from the husband's workplace. By their late thirties these couples hope to save enough to move into a home of their own, though they increasingly settle for condominiums. However, given the scarce supply of satisfactory urban housing and their residual sense of filial piety, a minority move into the home of either the wife or husband's parents. In such cases, the wife usually shares housekeeping chores with the former madam of the house--though other arrangements are also common.

Ezra Vogel, in his detailed study of sarariman family life, says that once the marriage is consumated, the bride is likely to abandon outside involvements including work to concentrate on home duties.[17] If all goes according to schedule, she will bear a child within a year or so. A second will follow soon after, and then child-bearing will cease for the parents recognize that neither their home size or family budget can accommodate another.

Almost from the beginning of the formation of this new family unit, a division of labor will emerge with the husband assuming the major responsibility for bringing the income and the wife the responsibility for child-rearing. The respective priorities are neatly illustrated in Yuzawa Yawahiko's 1962 survey of ordinary Tokyo families. The wife's main concern is that her husband work hard, and the husband looks to his wife as a consoler and child-rearer. (See Table 4.2).

According to Sumiya whom we quoted earlier, the wife's main concern in child-rearing is to facilitate the child's success in the schools. In contrast to the more traditional

TABLE 4.2

THE RECIPROCAL EXPECTATIONS OF SPOUSES FROM THEIR MARRIAGE

Husband's Desire of Wife	Strength of Preference Strong	Wife's Desire of Husband
	1.3	Hard working
Good conversation companion	1.4	Doesn't hit her
Zealous about children's education, loves children	1.5	Interesting talker
No boyfriends; keep house neat	1.6	Loves children; understands home situation
Can manage family budget, condiserate	1.7	Planner; zealous about children's education; does not gamble
Values in-laws; understands his work; looks nice	1.8	No girl friend; let's her manage budget
Planner; looks after husband	1.9	Values family; allows wife to attend outside meetings
Understands the importance of his socializing Not too pushy, similar tastes in food	2.0-2.9	Social consciousness, easy to get along with, similar hobbies, similar tastes in food.
Can bring in money	3.0+	Does not overdrink
	weak	

Source: Adapted from Yuzawa Yawahiko Kazoku Mondai (Problems of the Family) Tokyo: NHK Bookuzu, 1973, p. 81.

Scale: Spouses were asked to indicate their relative valuation of a long list of traits using a four point scale from very important (1) to not so important (4) farm and merchant households which can transfer the family business to their offspring, the new middle class parents have little property or wealth to offer their children. Without education which the parents view as a passport to a salariman job, their children will have difficulty in later life.

Sarariman families have a striklingly egalitarian role structure. Masuda in his investigation of domestic decision-making among Kobe nuclear families found that shared-decision-making was characteristic of 86 percent of the sample. Of the 14 percent of the family units where one of the other partners dominated, it was usually the wife who was strongest.[18] In contrast, in a Detroit study by Woolfe, it was found that husbands dominated in 25 percent of the units and wives had the upper hand in 4 percent; shared decision-making was less common than for Kobe. As Befu notes in summarizing trends of postwar family change in Japan,

> criteria of differential status, such as age, generation, and sex, though by no means completely gone, are nevertheless far less important than before. As one expression of this, in many urban middle class families, the traditional kinship terms for father and mother, which connote respect and deference, are now replaced by the English loan words "papa" and "mama."[19]

Some social scientists maintain that the family structure in which a child is reared serves as an important teacher for subsequent role-learning; if so, we can infer that the egalitarian family structure provides children with important lessons in the egalitarian sentiment even prior to the stage when they enter school.

Thus far we have associated the sarariman family type with the particular occupational context of employment in modern organizations. However, a number of social forces have led to extensive imitation of the sarariman type by other occupational groups. This trend is especially notable in the case of those blue-collar workers who are fortunate to acquire jobs in large enterprises. These workers enjoy virtually the same incomes as their white collar co-workers, at least in the early stage of their working careers. And often as not, they share the same aspirations for their children's educational and occupational futures.

Even in groups where familial work roles are not so obviously congenial, the sarariman type casts its shadow. As Vogel notes,

> "the way of life of the salary man dominates the mass media, the popular stories, the "how to" books. The advertising and the standard package for the consumer are probably geared more to the level of the salary man than to any other group. The educational system is dominated by the spirit of the salary man."[20]

Also the changing urban ecology has played a role. Small shopkeepers and industrialists once constituted a distinct class living in segregated areas of the city, and apart from their business activities associated largely with others of their class. One of the fascinating aspects of postwar Japanese growth has been the numerical persistence of their small and seemingly precarious enterprises, whereas in other advanced societies the independent businessman has rapidly declined towards extinction. However, the survival of small businesses in Japan has been accompanied by changes in their pattern of location. Apart from the downtown districts, no longer does one find these enterprises and the home of their family members clustered in common places. Rather, most small shops are strewn throughout the metropolis where they can be accessible to a local clientele. Necessarily the dispersion of these enterprises weakens the traditional community ties between small businessmen and forces the family members from the old middle class units to come into extensive personal contact with those from other social backgrounds. Especially for the wives and children of small enterpreneurs, the sarariman family style is attractive--it offers them greater independence and free time. Often today when young women discuss marriage to small-scale enterpreneurs, they seek guarantees against being pressed into enterpreneurial duties; the presence of in-laws under the same family roof might even become an issue. In the more stringent days of the past, small enterpreneurs would have experienced difficulty if they made such concessions to their wives, but these days many do well enough to hire part-time help; hence they are more likely to accept the demands for independence they hear from family members. Indeed, growing numbers of small enterprise families have succumbed to the temptations of the _sarariman_ family style. Several of the recent studies of urban family structure report surprisingly little that remains distinct about the family structure and goals of entrepreneurial families.[21] The only area where these studies consistently report a truly outstanding difference is with respect to child-rearing goals: entrepreneurial families appear less concerned with the educational success of their children, presumably because they hope the children will succeed in the family enterprise. At the same time, the entrepreneurial families tend to be generous in expenditures for their children's education.

Rural farm families have been more insulated from the influence of the new urban family ideals. As we have noted, the samurai family ideal gained the widest acceptance in rural agricultural areas, and through World War II many rural families were able to conform with this ideal: family heads assumed a prominent role in the labor of the family agricultural enterprise and exercised extensive authority over other family members. First sons were cultivated to succeed their fathers, and the remaining children were encouraged either to consider setting up a branch agricultural enterprise or prepare for an alternate career. Extended families were not uncommon, and much respect was paid to older family members and ancestors. However, with the postwar reforms and economic development, this traditional family form has become less common.

The initial shock to rural society came from the Occupation land reforms which equalized the amount of tillable soil that individual families could possess. While prior to the reforms, the inequality in land holdings was, by comparative standards, not especially great, it was nevertheless the case that those families with the largest households were most likely to conform with the traditional family ideal. The large scale of their farm enterprises provided them with sufficient income to make it worthwhile for all family members to concentrate on agricultural work. Families with smaller holdings tended to diversify into other activities--food processing, small supply shops, and so on. And tenant households were notably unstable with members frequently abandoning agricultural labor for some other pursuit. To the extent members of these households combined other activities with agriculture, they found it difficult to maintain the traditional family ideal; inevitably, power in the family became more equally shared.

The land reforms and the subsequent economic growth in the urban economic sector exacerbated this tendency towards part-time farming. For increasing proportions of rural households, farming failed to produce sufficient income to maintain an acceptable standard of living. Thus many household heads began dividing their energies between agriculture and some form of seasonal labor such as construction or to take up work in a nearby factor on at least a part-time basis. In many instances, the rural family head abandoned agricultural labor altogether leaving the farming to elderly parents and wives. As in the past, this diversification of labor commitment compromised the traditional family ideal. In the absence of a strong family head for extended periods of time, the authority of the wife and her children increased.

Wives, especially, have not been enthralled with the prospect of becoming full-time farmers while their husbands work in other pursuits. In many instances, they have urged their husbands to abandon the family farm. In recent years, young men who look ahead to taking over the family farm discover that it is difficult to find a wife. Few of the girls in their community are prepared to marry a farmer, and rather cherish dreams of an easier life as the wife of a salaryman. These conditions have led for the first time in Japan's modern history to a preceptible trend towards a decline in the number of rural households. As parents die, more and more of their children are giving up the family farm to take up urban employment--and in all probability adopt an urban family style.

A somewhat different pattern of rural adaptation, discussed by Vogel, has been to convert the traditional village economy composed of separate enterprises into a joint cooperative. Through pooling land and resources, farming can become more rational and productive. In these cases, individual cooperative members become employees and receive a salary just like urban company men; their bonus becomes their cut of the cooperative's annual profit. Because of improved productivity under this arrangement, there is a lessened need to press wives into work. Presumably, these cooperative economies enable the development of a family life style in the countryside quite similar to the modal type found in the cities. Thus far in our discussion of postwar trends in family structure, we have emphasized the convergence towards a nuclear conjugal family where partners agree on a division of labor and where role relations are relatively egalitarian. We do not mean to suggest that all families can be characterized in this way, but only to emphasize that the differences between classes are less marked than before the war. At the same time, it is likely that there is greater intra-class variation today. Contributing to this intra-class variation are a number of factors: the increased incidence on intergeneration mobility for males, the increased incidence of class heteronomous marriages, and the growing tendency for couples themselves to negotiate the type of marriage and family structure they personally prefer. Also as we noted, many young entrepreneurial and farm families have evolved structures which are, from the point of view of their class position, deviant.

These trends of class convergence and intra-class diversity have important implications. First, they suggest that standard indicators of class background will be less useful predictors of individual development today than in the past, if for no other reason than that these indicators are less related to the actual bases of variation in family structure. Secondly, in view of the convergence towards a common type, it becomes meaningful for us to discuss general patterns of child-rearing rather than the patterns characteristic of each respective class.

Basic Child-Rearing Patterns

Japanese families have always accorded considerable importance to the task of child-rearing. The traditional families we discussed earlier achieved continuity in child-rearing practices through the frequent presence of grandparents in the homes where young people were raising children. Along with relaying conventional child-rearing practices to the young parents, the grandparents played an important direct role: where parents were too severe on young children, the grandparents would add a soft touch, perhaps providing a hurt child with some candy or telling an amusing story to relieve the strain. Moreover, in earlier days, child-rearing goals were relatively comprehensible--while the specific content varied by class the general goal was the cultivation of virtue and diligence. Hereditary patterns of succession guaranteed social placement for offspring. However, with the advent of modernization and the trend towards reliance on the school system for social selection, ambitious and well-placed families who wished their children to maintain the family's status found it increasingly necessary to devote special attention to their children's academic achievements. This preoccupation with academic achievement filtered down to the middle class as modernization proceeded, but it is only since World War II that the vast majority of families have developed much concern about it. As we will indicate in more detail below, the growing proportions of the population concerned with academic achievement has led to a complicated situation for young people and their parents known as the "examination hell." At the same time, modern families are confronting a context of rapid social change where traditional child-rearing formulas are said to have less relevance; in any case, with increasing frequency they live in dwellings of their own where their grandparents are not available for consultation. Postwar families often appear confused by this new situation, and uncertain of how to bring up their children. Parents turn to a great variety of sources for advice--professional advice, books and magazines on child-rearing, television programs, and the suggestions of friends and relatives. The result is that some mothers breast feed while others rely on bottles, some use store-bought foods while others prepare their own, some wean early while others wait. Although most parents muddle through, it cannot be said that a typical couple has a very clear set of principles for child-rearing, nor are there clear class differences in child-rearing practices. Just as in the case of family structure, personal preferences appear to be the major cause of the variation in child-rearing practices that researchers have observed.

While personal preferences do result in considerable variation in actual child-rearing practices, Befu suggests it is possible to discern several salient "patterns of child-rearing which hold generally for most Japanese," and which contrast with patterns observed elsewhere as in the U.S.[22] In particular, he identifies the following:

1. A quiet soothing infancy--In comparison with American mothers, Japanese mothers tend to talk less to their babies and more generally to avoid actions and demonstrations of affection that might result in stimulation. Rather than swing or rapidly move their babies, the Japanese mothers prefer to quietly rock them. On the other hand, Japanese mothers tend to spend a greater proportion of the time in close physical proximity so as to provide their babies with a sense of emotional security. In contrast, American babies are left alone much more. As early as 3-4 months after birth, perceptible differences can be found in the babies. American babies tend to be more active and vocally expressive.

2. Avoiding Separation--Befu suggests that the continuous physical presence of the Japanese mother lays the groundwork for the baby's strong emotional dependence on the mother. In fact, in the early months the mother will choose to sleep in the same room as the baby even if this separates her from the husband.[23] As the baby matures, the mother tries to foster this close relation through minimizing the periods when she becomes separated from her baby. Thus the mother rarely leaves home without her baby, and she will not consider going out for an evening and leaving the child to a baby-sitter.

3. Reliance on Demand-Feeding--Further contributing to the dependent relation is the tendency of Japanese mothers to feed their babies when the baby begins to cry and demand food rather than to stick to some kind of pre-determined schedule. In Befu's view, scheduling and failure of mothers

to respond except at the appointed hour helps to teach babies that they are separate and independent from their mothers. In contrast, on-demand feeding "tends to create the opposite effect, not only eliminating opportunities for developing emotional independence, but creating further opportunities for reinforcing emotional dependence on the mother."

4. Minimizing punishment--Consistent with their responsiveness to the baby's feeding demands, Japanese mothers generally show much greater reluctance to refuse to rebuke babies regardless of their behavior. Befu cites several studies which report the "Japanese child-rearing pattern of not going head-on against a child, not directly saying "no," but instead inducing the child to behave properly." This inducement normally consists of reasoning and if that does not work, with begging or pleading; and as a last resort, the mother might offer the child some sweets. In contrast, Befu suggests that the American parent is more likely to stand firm with their child and to resort to threats and spankings when the child fails to comply.

In another context, Fukutake suggests that the soft approach of the Japanese parent is a relatively new development.[24] He says that prewar parents and especially the father tended to be much more authoritarian while relying on the grandparents to develop a softer, more overtly affectionate and cajoling relation with child. With the decline of the extended family, Fukutake says that fathers and mothers have abandoned their traditional role in place of a more affectionate approach. While Fukutake regrets this trend as he feels it is the source of certain postwar problems in child-rearing, he nevertheless would agree with Befu that "Japanese parents, especially the mother, tend to be much less authoritarian vis-a-vis children than American parents."

The tolerance of Japanese parents is especially notable with respect to at-home behavior. While a mother might ask her child to go to bed, rarely are fixed bedtimes enforced--at least until the child begins school. Mothers are concerned about the nutritional in-take of their children, but do not fuss too much if vegetables and meat are skipped or if the child eats too many sweets. At home, in the early years, the main concern is to foster a cooperative atmosphere. However, once the family moves into a public setting parents become high conscious of their child's deportment, and frequently exhort the child to avoid disturbing others or hurting their feelings. In the subways, shoes are taken off so as not to dirty the seats. When with grandparents or relatives children are expected to show their best behavior, at least at first. And when with friends the stress is on getting along and sharing toys without fights. In these extra-familial settings, parents become more explicit about the type of behavior they expect from their children. The greater strictness in public settings does not stem from parental concern to convey moral lessons, for in this area they lack confidence. Rather, their strictness is related to a concern for others and for avoiding embarassment on the family. Also as Befu suggests, persuasion rather than punishment is the typical means of control.

Some Possible Implications of these Modal Child-Rearing Practices

In that the above tendencies appear to be typical of all social groups, we might turn to consider some of their implications for personality development. In doing so, two caveats should be stressed. We do not subscribe to a national character approach which assumes these practices will have a determinant effect on the "Japanese mind." For one, as we have already stressed, there is enough variation around all of these practices to dispose young Japanese along a great diversity of routes of personality development. Secondly, while there are different opinions on this issue, our own position is that experiences which occur in the family are no more likely to determine personality than those which occur in other settings. These family experiences will have personality consequences, only to the extent they are reinforced by subsequent experience.

With these qualifications, let us consider what tendencies the modal practices encourage. One implication Befu draws from these practices and especially the stress on dependency training is that Japanese children are more likely to associate positive affect with their parents, especially their mother, than the American child.[25] We can see in the strong maternal attachment, the prototype of the Japanese tendency to feel strong positive affect towards the small intimate group of friends, co-workers, neighbors, etc. American child-rearing is not likely to foster as positive an affect in children to their family, or lay the emotional groundwork for strong positive orientations to the subsequent small groups in which the individual will find himself. The relatively strong affect of the Japanese child to his family groups makes the process of entering new groups more difficult. For example, when Japanese children visit the home of their friends, their mothers often go with them. And for the first days of kindergarten mothers are expected to accompany their children for the full morning; the routine continues until the child ceases bursting into tears the moment its mother disappears from sight. However, once the transfer of affect is achieved, the Japanese child is likely to develop a strong attachment to the new group--be it of playmates, schoolmates, or whatever. He comes to depend on his new group for security and affection just as the family was once the source of these gratifications.

Secondly, we might surmise that contemporary Japanese children, because they experience a *relatively* egalitarian family experience, are prone to expect egalitarian relations in other social situations. Most important in this proposition is the implication that the dispositions of today's children are different: Whereas in the past, family relations in Japan tended to be much more authoritarian, providing for some analysts an explanation for the apparent tendency of the Japanese people to accept authority, few today would accept this "family writ large" argument.[26] Still we can appreciate how a more egalitarian family atmosphere might lead young children to expect more egalitarian relations in other contexts. Thus in interaction with friends, each child would expect to have an equal chance to talk or to play with toys--and be upset with a particular playmate attempted to dominate. Similarly in kindergarten or school they would prefer a setting that allowed considerable participation over one where they might be ignored, excluded, or merely talked down to.

In our summary of patterns we have also noted how Japanese mothers tend to spend less time talking to their children than is the case for American mothers.[27] Underlying the Japanese parent, and especially the mother's, relative lack of verbal exchanges may be a sense of inadequacy concerning what should be said. In the area of moral education, as Fukutake observes, Japanese parents are hesitant to instruct their children. Rather than firmly tell their children what is right or wrong, parents will reason, cajole, bribe, and if these strategies fail, submit to their children's wishes. Parents are reluctant to shape their children's morality, for they are uncertain as to what orientations will be appropriate later on. Also to oppose the child is to threaten the harmony of the parent-child relationship. Figuratively speaking, parents leave a moral blank check for other institutions to fill out.

From Kindergarten to Adolescence

As we will indicate in the next chapter, the primary school is a critical experience for most Japanese children. Whereas in their formative years, life is home-centered, once children enter the primary school they become school-centered. Not only do children begin to spend the majority of their waking hours at school, but they also begin to view the school and educational achievement as one of their major purposes and sources of satisfaction. Teachers come to compete with parents as objects of admiration. Also, children begin to form friendships with classmates who live outside their immediate neighborhoods.

The tendency of increasing school-centeredness has always applied to the minority of school children who were destined for further schooling beyond the primary level. But today all youth expect to go on to complete at least middle school, and most expect to go beyond that. Under these new conditions, the primary school experience becomes meaningful for the entire cohort. In the next four chapters we will turn to a consideration of what actually goes on in Japanese schools and with what consequences for the personalities of young people. There we will also indicate how the school experience gradually draws young people away from their families. With every year this tendency becomes more profound so that by the middle school years the families influence has been sharply reduced.

Since World War II, stimulated by such studies as Riesman's Lonely Crowd and Whyte's Street Corner Society, American sociologists have become more conscious of peer contacts and their influence on youth's attitudes.[28] Indeed, some have gone so far as to declare the emergence of a new youth stage in the American life-cycle where physically and intellectually mature young people search for their identity and their niche in the adult work system.[29] Implicit in this conception is the notion that much that children learn in their family and early school years is subjected to a reevaluation. Insofar as there is such a thing as the emergence of an independent youth stage, it is necessary to modify the traditional family imprint perspectives on socialization.

Studies of Japanese society have been slow to recognize the importance of the youth stage, and have rather stressed the centrality in adolescent life of the family circle. For example, Stoetzel reports that "both youth and girls give family relationships first place more often than any other kind of activity."[30] Similarly according to Vogel adolescents spend more time with their family than with their peers and the majority do not have particular peers whom they consider close friends.[31] Possibly the family emphasis was justified at earlier periods, at least for certain social strata. At the same time, in considering these earlier periods, it would be remiss to ignore the important role that youth groups played in many village societies--in helping young people select their mates or in facilitating the military's mobilization for war.

Whatever the past situation, it is clear that the majority of today's youth, both in city and country, experience a distinct youth stage parallel to that in Western societies. As young people move into middle school, they are exposed to an extensive array of largely school-based extra-curricular activities. In our own study of several Kyoto middle schools, we found that 80 percent of all first and second year middle schoolers participated in these activities, and over half participated on a daily basis. The clubs were organized along remarkably democratic lines, and clearly reinforced many of the norms for group interaction that had been instilled during the primary school experience. They encouraged participation, expressiveness, and cooperation while deemphasizing competition. Most clubs included members of both sexes on a more or less equal basis. In the athletic clubs such as tennis, a single girl would never be pitted against a boy, but mixed doubles were not uncommon. Students viewed these activities as the most rewarding part of their school experience and indeed of their lives. Thus they often showed up on Saturdays and Sundays for extra-sessions and they selected many of their friends from among fellow clubmates.

Adolescent Independence in the High Schools

Gruson in a recent study of a cross-section of Osaka high school students finds they have a somewhat lower level of participation in school club activities than the middle schoolers we studied--which is understandable in that the high school students are much closer to the day when they take college entrance exams, and being tied to the grind of exam preparation studies have less time for play.[32] Even so, she reports that the high school students find other occasions for association--in their home rooms, going to movies and other cultural events, attending *juku*, etc. These young people clearly spend a much greater proportion of their extra-study time with friends than with family members. Indeed, one study reports that high schoolers spend an average of only 2.4 minutes a day talking with their mothers.[33] High schoolers prefer to discuss their future plans and their personal problems with close friends rather than with parents or siblings. 81.6 percent report that they would confide things to close friends that they would not normally tell their parents.[34]

Youth report serious difficulty in communicating with their parents, and sometimes outright conflict. In instances where there are differences, a majority of youth feel they have the right to stick to their guns. In response to one question, only 20 percent stated they felt a duty to agree with their parents. In the words of these young people,

> There is no use discussing many issues with my parents because they are not equipped to discuss intelligently with me.
>
> My parents are incapable of giving me any sensible advice because they lack the education which I have.
>
> I am embarrassed to ask my parents serious questions because they have no understanding of what is going on in the world.

Gruson notes that others complain of their mother's lack of knowledge and "common sense."[35]

With this low opinion of their parent's wisdom, it is not surprising to find that youth do a lot of thinking on their own and in consultation with friends. Indeed, their independent thinking extends to making decisions on some of the most crucial developments of their lives-- ncluding selecting their college major and occupation. Nine out of ten who are planning to go to college say they have chosen their own major "based on my interest." Most deny direct parental influence, only pointing out that they have tried to keep within the bounds of what their family would consider respectable. Similarly, over 3/4 say they will make their own decision about what kind of work to pursue.[36] These findings on adolescant self-reliance have been corroborated by other recent studies, most notable among these being a series of White Papers on Youth prepared by the Prime Minister's Office. The 1969 edition summarized a national survey indicating that "a majority of adolescents either solve problems by themselves or seek advice from friends and very few of them seek assistance from parents."[37] Another survey emphasizes the important role of the media in providing young people with the information to make decisions.

Regretably, one question bypassed in both the Grusen and Prime Minister Office's studies was the differential role of class in shaping youth-parent relations. One might expect that upper and middle class parents have a greater potential for communicating with their children thanks to their superior education. On the other hand, the elitist values of these parents and their tendency to presuade their children to compete in school might tend to frustrate parent-child interaction.

Rebellion Against Parents

Clearly young people in Japan decrease their reliance on parental advice and guidance as they proceed into adolescence. Yet at the same time youth still turn to the home as a place for support and emotional fortification. The tendency among youth towards increasing self-reliance generates parental concern and anxiety, but surprisingly little conflict. As we have noted, contemporary Japanese parents exhibit considerable tolerance towards their children. Parents seem to feel that being young in today's world is difficult, an experience they are unable to fully understand; thus their children are looked to for suggestions and leadership. Also, for many mothers their children are their central life-interests. To damage relations with their children is to undermine a major source of their personal gratification.

The traditional family was able to command the allegiance of children by presenting the prospect of an eventual transfer of family property and connections; as young people could not envision superior opportunities, this was enough to induce attitudes of respect and appreciation. On the other hand, in the modern meritocratic society, the typical urban family has little it can offer while the occupational alternatives for youth to choose from are much more diverse and less related to parental sponsorship. In the modern circumstances, the practical ties that bind are weaker and the likelihood of provoking youthful rebellion greater. Moreover, in a small nuclear family without grandparents or numerous children, the emotional cost of alienating a child are much greater. Thus today's parents often appear to adopt a position which will minimize the possibilities for conflict.

They impose a minimum of rules on their children and are lax even in the enforcement of these. For example, in Grusen's study, the only rule imposed by a majority of parents concerned the time adolescents should come home.[38] But even here, young men reported their parents rarely commented when they exceeded the designated time. Krauss's report on student radicals shows that they rarely felt their parents attempting to change their political convictions. Mothers, in particular, were said to avoid interjecting moral and political issues into the relation, preferring merely to maintain a close emotional tie. Even when the radicals took up activities which their parents strongly opposed, the parents usually remained loyal. One father continued sending his son a monthly stipend for school expenses even though he knew the son had ignored his wishes and dropped out for full-time political activity.[39]

Some Western psychologists have argued that rebellion against parents is a crucial stage in the maturation of young people; without the interjection of their parents, it is difficult for young people to take up a serious committed role in the adult world. From this point of view, the minimization of parent-child conflict poses a special problem for Japan, and leads to a unique solution. Because the Japanese family feels it cannot afford the cost of internal conflict, it displaces the latent hostility outwards towards other institutions affecting the lives of youth. Political institutions become one of the focii of pent-up youthful libido. But the main symbol is the exam system. The system is viewed with complex emotions of awe and resentment, of fear and humor. It appears as a stern orderer of youth's life in the same way that a father or mother appears to many American youth. Indeed, according to this interpretation, much of the emotional pitch surrounding Japan's examination hell derives from the examination system's symbolic role in fostering the break between youth and adulthood--that the exams lead to success for some and failure for others is somewhat incidental.[40] This interpretation suggests important functions for the examination system in the Japanese scheme of growing up that would be displaced to the extent that social reformers succeeded in "improving" the evils of the exam system. Among other consequences, the harmony of the modern family might be threatened.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed major changes in the Japanese family that bear on our larger argument. Whereas there once were several class-related family types, class links have gradually weakened so that today the vast majority of families approximate the conjugal nuclear type. The structure of this family is much less hierarchical than was the case in the idealized traditional family. Some would argue that this shift in family structure is an important causal element in the broader postwar trend towards egalitarian socialization.

While contemporary families practice a great diversity of child-rearing practices, again there seems to be little relation between class position and the particular practices of a given family. Mother's education is the only class variable which helps to explain observed variations, but even this seems a weak predictor relative to personal taste. It is possible to make several generalizations about modal patterns that bear on our overall argument:

(1) the modern family allows remarkably egalitarian patterns of interaction among family members.

(2) child-rearing practices are oriented to establishing close emotional bonds between family members, but they seem to be extremely permissive with respect to actual behavior. By and large, the family looks to outside institutions for guidance concerning normative standards and for the actual inculcation of these standards.

(3) Finally parents encourage their children to develop a positive attitude to school.

These practices facilitate a relatively smooth transition from home to school for young people. Furthermore, they serve to motivate children to accept what is taught at school with an open mind, thereby enhancing the school's potential effect. As we will see, young people quickly become involved in school and in their own adolescent society--so much so that by the time they become teenagers, this becomes their major source for guidance and support. The family recedes into the background as a direct influence on their lives. Nevertheless, most adolescents continue to maintain a warm emotional tie to their family, drawing emotional support as they pass through the stressful experience of preparing for adulthood.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Most of the important American studies are summarized in Alan C. Kerckhoff, Socialization and Social Class, p. 123-24. For a review of selected European studies, see Olive Bank Sociology of Education, pp. 61ff.

[2] For an illustration of the weaker relations between class and cognitive achievement in Japan, see Table 6.2. For class and socioeconomic achievement, see Chapter 11.

[3] Though most American social scientists would object to having their research classified as "radical" or "liberal," it is possible through reviewing the assumption, goals, and tone of different reports to classify them into these ideological categories. Even so, we find that Bowles and Gintis; Schooling in Capitalist America adhers as firmly to our list of propositions as does Peter Blau and Otis Duncan's the American Occupational Structure.

[4] William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff. Technology and the Changing Family; David Riesman et al. The Lonely Crowd.

[5] The essays which best represents Parsons' view on the family are found in Talcott Parsons, Social Structure and Personality. See especially "The Link Between Character and Society."

[6] From the Greater Learning as cited by Ronald Dore in City Life in Japan; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958, p. 93.

[7] Mikio Sumiya, "The Functions and Social Structure of Education: School and Japanese Society." Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan, Vol. 5, Nos. 2-3 (Dec., 1967) p. 130.

[8] Tadashi Fukutake, Japanese Society Today, p. 44.

[9] An excellent discussion of Japanese Kinship is found in Chie Nakane, Kinship and Economic Organization in Rural Japan.

[10] Harumi Befu, Japan: An Anthropological Introduction, p. 38ff.

[11] As summarized by Robert J. Smith, "Pre-Industrial Urbanism in Japan: A Consideration of Multiple Traditions in Feudal Society," in City and Village in Japan, ed. Thomas C. Smith, 1960, pp. 241-257.

[12] Takeyoshi Kawashima and Kurt Steiner, "Modernization and Divorce Trends in Japan," in City and Village in Japan, ed. Thomas C. Smith, pp. 213-39.

[13] Smith, op. cit.; also see Mikio Sumiya, Social Impact of Industrialization in Japan. Tokyo: Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1963, Chapters 3 and 4.

[14] Kazuo Kawai, Japan's American Interlude.

[15] For one discussion of trends in mate selection, see Robert O. Blood, Love Match and Arranged Marriage, p. 8ff.

[16] See Yawahiko Yuzawa, Kazoku Mondai (Problems of the Family), p. 60.

[17] Much of the following discussion of sarariman families is based on Ezra Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class.

[18] Based on research by Mitsuyoshi Musuda as summarized in Kiyomi Morioka, Kazoku Shakai guku (family sociology), Tokyo: Yukikaku, 1967, p. 57.

[19] Befu, op. cit., p. 55.

[20] Vogel, op. cit., p. 267.

[21] Yuzawa, op. cit. pp. 34ff. In Kyoto where our research was conducted, although there are large clusters of small shops in the downtown areas, most of the shopowners now have homes in the suburbs. One downtown primary school which once had over 600 pupils now has less than 40.

[22] Befu, op. cit. p. 151.

[23] One study of family sleeping arrangements finds no differences by class in Japan despite significant class differences in bedroom to family member ratios. See William Caudill and D. W. Plath, "Who Sleeps by Whom?" Parent-child Involvement in Urban Japanese Families," Psychiatry 29: 344-66.

[24] Fukutake, op. cit., p. 43.

[25] The dependence theme is most fully developed in Takeo Doi The Anatomy of Dependence. Also see Yoshiaki Yamamura, Nihonjin to Haha (The Japanese and their Mothers), Tokyo: Toyokan Shuppan sha, 1971. For a critical analysis, see Hiroshi Wagatsuma, "Some Aspects of the Contemporary Japanese Family: Once Confucian, Now Fatherless," Daedalus, (Spring, 1977), Vol. 106, pp. 181-210.

[26] Massey's finding that youth who report they are raised in families with strong fathers are more rebellious is the opposite of what would be predicted by the "family writ large" hypothesis. See Joseph Massey, Youth and Politics in Japan. p. 158.

[27] Caudill and Weinstein report that Japanese mothers spend less time talking to their children than American mothers. See William Caudill and Helen Weinstein, "Maternal Care and Infant Behavior in Japan and America," Psychiatry 32 (1969): 12-43. Similarly Honna reports for a sample of Aichi first graders the lack of association between social class and the way mothers communicate with their children; see Nobuyuki Honna, "A Note on Social Structure and Linguistic Behavior," in Freed Peng, ed. Language in Japanese Society, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1975, p. 207.

[28] David Riesman et al. The Lonely Crowd; William Whyte Street Corner Society.

[29] Perhaps the first book to develop the thesis of a new youth stage between adolescence and adulthood was Kenneth Kenniston, The Young Radicals.

[30] Jean Stoetzel, Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword, p. 169.

[31] Vogel, op. cit., p. 114ff.

[32] Hiroko Grusen. Parent-Adolescent Relationship in Japan: Patterns of Dependency. Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, 1971.

[33] Sorifu Seishonen Taisaku Honbu, Seishonen Hakusho (White Paper on Youth) 1969.

[34] Grusen, op. cit., p. 132.

[35] Ibid., pp. 126ff.

[36] Ibid., p. 156.

[37] Sorifu Seishonen Taisaku Honbu, Gendai no Wakamono Tachi (Contemporary Youth), 1970.

[38] Grusen, op. cit., p. 112.

[39] Elliot Krauss. Young Radicals Revisited.

[40] Christie W. Kiefer, "The Psychological Interdependence of Family, School, and Bureaucracy in Japan."

CHAPTER FIVE

EGALITARIAN EDUCATION IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Japan has always believed that schools should develop "whole people" rather than some narrow aspect of individual potential, and since the Meiji restoration, Japanese primary schools have been assigned the most important role in this process, that of transmitting a common culture and of motivating youth for their subsequent years in the school system.

Over the course of Japanese history, the primary school's interpretation of the common culture has varied: In the early stages of modernization, much stress was placed on the hierarchal aspect of social relations. During the years leading up to World War II nationalistic themes were promoted. And since World War II humanistic and egalitarian themes have been stressed. In each of these periods, the school's emphasis has actually been somewhat at variance with the actual trends of the adult society. Up to World War II, this deviation was thanks to the leadership of the nationalistic government. Since World War II, the government's influence has been reduced in certain areas whereas that of the teachers, led by their ideological union, has substantially increased. Our concern in this chapter will be with the postwar primary school, and the manner in which it conveys the common culture.[1]

In our consideration of the old system we found that the elementary school received all the nation's youth and exposed them to a common curriculum, but it did not give them an equal education. For example, some schools, by virtue of their location in backward prefectures or isolated areas, were poorly equipped and staffed. Moreover, within given schools teachers tended to favor certain children, especially bright students and those from better families.

But over the postwar period this situation has changed. Today's facilities and treatments appear remarkably equal. There are several reasons for the change:

1) The Occupation reforms and the new laws institutionalized egalitarian educational values.

2) Public policy has promoted equality of facilities.

3) Selfish parents have always demanded that schools devote special attention to their child. With the spread of exam competition most parents have become selfish. Teachers have found that the easiest solution is simply to treat all children equally.

4) The extension of compulsory education through the ninth grade has enabled teachers to practice equal education at least through the primary school. As students have a chance to accelerate later, most primary school teachers do not feel upset that their equal education holds the bright students back. They feel little strain in devoting more than equal attention to the slow students who need it most.

5) Teachers draw support in their efforts to practice egalitarian education from the Japan Teacher's Union. The Union is committed to a socialist conception of a more equal

society that upholds a peaceful world order. Teachers are constantly reminded of these themes in Union newsletters and meetings. Especially in recent years, this Union has shown much interest in the actual process of education. The Union has chosen as its special educational goal that of helping every child to understand (wakaru) as well as to simply perform (dekiru) the tasks that are presented in the curriculum.[3] The Union's educational ideal is not unlike that of America's Mastery Learning.[4]

Schools teach many lessons. Some are in the formal curriculum, some in what has come to be known as the hidden or latent curriculum--lessons which reside in the structure of schools, the rhythms students are put through, the manner in which they are rewarded, the example teachers set.[5] Some of the school's and teacher's lessons are intentional, but many are not.

Those who are involved in schools are unlikely to provide an especially revealing account of these lessons--in part, because they are so busy with the formal curriculum. Nor can one find any accounts of these lessons in the literature. In that there is such a scarcity of information on what schools teach, I decided to go to school myself. In late 1975, for a few weeks I visited schools in the Chicago area to freshen my childhood memories of school life, and then I went to Kyoto, Japan, where I spent the better part of a year visiting schools and talking to people about them.

Needless to say, the expression of my desire to visit schools caused considerable confusion. At first I simply visited a couple of schools with a statement in Japanese about my interest in education and social change and my desire to visit several schools to conduct intensive fieldwork.

While principals could recognize the value of what I planned to do, they were concerned with the disturbance it might create in the classrooms. Teachers were wary for the same reasons, and some were suspicious of my ideological notions. There were several refusals, and as it worked out personal connections to a school proved to be the key to entry. The first school I was allowed to visit and observe was one which several of my Japanese relatives attended. One of my nieces was a student in the first class I observed. Roughly half the teachers in this school agreed to let me watch their classes; the teachers, taking into account my desire to see a representative spectrum of courses, decided on my schedule. Usually I spent six to eight days over a period of three weeks in a single classroom; and after the observation period, I chatted with the teachers for from one to three hours. Following the initial observation period, several teachers invited me to come back for check-ups and I gratefully accepted.

Gradually, I overcame the fears of the members of this school and they spoke about their "new student" to friends. Within three months I was welcomed to several schools in the local area and received many chances to check out the generality of my initial observations. Later I travelled to other prefectures for short periods of observation.

These visits to various settings helped me to appreciate the diversity in Japanese education--and in Chapter 3 and 8, I discuss some aspects of the diversity in greater detail. One key aspect is the extent to which the teachers of a school are unionized. Where they are, the egalitarian educational themes will be paramount; in Kyoto unionization is virtually universal, so my concentration of field work there leads to a certain degree of bias. However, my visits to other areas of Japan left me with the strong impression that the regional deviations are not signficant until the middle school and that there is a common pattern at the primary school level.[6] The following is my effort to summarize that pattern leaning on my experience at the first school, while adjusting it where its practices proved exceptional. Occasionally comparisons are made with a stereotyped American format from my own field observations and from the literature which I will be careful to reference.

I. Primary School

The Opening Ceremony

In traditional Japan, growing up was signified by such events as boys or girls day or youths day. However, with the increasing importance of the school system, a child's progress through life has come to be marked by his status in the school system. School is a common experience for Japanese youth, even more so than for Americans. Textbooks, facilities, and school events are remarkably uniform throughout Japan. Also, in contrast with the U.S. one can accurately determine a youth's age from his school year. Entering first grade primary students are all six years old as of April first of the year when they begin school. The Japanese school does not fail or accelerate the grade level of any of its students so six years later when these students begin middle school they will be twelve years old, and then fifteen when they begin high school.[7]

Stages in school (and stages in growth) are celebrated by elaborate ceremonies, at least by American standards. On the first official day of school, each new first grader comes to school dressed in his finest along with his mother or father. While the parents go to the assembly hall, the children line up in their new classrooms, and at the call they solemnly march in to take the seats before their parents. The principal introduces the students' teachers and delivers a short speech on the ideals of the school.

At the school I attended the principal's speech was brief but moving; he told the children that they now would become members of a larger family where they would have an opportunity to make many new friends. They would need to cooperate as this new family was much larger than that at their home. If they were confused or did not understand things, they should feel free to ask anyone in the school for help because all belonged to the family. However, before they sought help they should always try to solve the problem by themselves. The principal told the story of Thomas Edison, the famous inventor, who said that achievement was 99% perspiration and 1% inspiration. He also mentioned the comment of Japan's Nobel Prize winner, Yukawa Hideki, that success in any endeavor comes through continuous repetitive practice until one masters every detail. So the principal asked his new charges to work hard to understand what they were exposed to in the school and to seek help only after they had exhausted all other possibilities. Finally, he told them to be careful of the traffic when coming to school.

Turning to the parents, the principal asked that they trust the school and the teachers for these people were professionals with deep experience. School, he stressed, aimed not only at developing the minds but also the spirt and the body. Parents these days were too worried about the academic achievement of their children. They should not feel that their child's future was going to be determined by what happened in a single day or even a year of school. He entreated the parents to relax and help their children enjoy this new stage in life. To complete the ceremony a group of second graders stood before the newcomers to chant a hearty welcome and to extend the hand of friendship.

Following the assembly, each child went to his new classroom, and as the parents stood around the back the teacher explained the procedures he intended to follow. As with the principal, he tried to reassure the parents. He told them that he loves children, especially the first and second graders, that he already has several years of teaching experience (only rarely is a new teacher assigned the difficult task of handling first graders). He explained his concern to develop not only the minds of these children but also their hearts and bodies. The classroom, he emphasized, is different than the home, and some may experience problems. But he entreated the parents to be tolerant and to trust in him. He urged parents to come to him for discussion of their child's adjustment, but always in these discussions to keep in mind that their child was not the only member of the class. Rather each parent's child is one among forty. Then the teacher turned to the students and called out their names, and for the first time each student stood up to say present. Some forms announcing school procedures were handed out which the children were asked to take home to their parents. And the first day of school came to an end.

Establishing Order

One of the first problems the Japanese school attacks is that of creating order in the classrooms. In certain obvious respects, this problem is more pressing in Japan than in the U.S. The typical Japanese primary school has between forty and forty-five students per teacher in every class at every grade level; moreover, there are no extra assistant teachers or specialist teachers to assist in overcrowded classes. Without a high level of student compliance, this system would rapidly fall into chaos. In contrast, American class sizes tend to be much smaller, particularly at the first and second grade levels. In addition, the teachers at these grade levels are likely to have assistants. In a sense, the American teacher can substitute attention for order.

Order in the Japanese classroom includes greeting the teacher each morning, standing beside one's desk when speaking, listening to others and the teacher in silence, and cooperating in group activities. Even those teachers who personally adopt an informal style try hard to establish this order for these "soft" teachers recognize their style is somewhat exceptional, and they feel responsible to impress in the children's minds a picture of proper classroom behavior that will last them through their school days.

Recognizing that a full day of school can be exhausting, the school schedule slowly eases the newcomers into the routine. For the first several weeks, the students come to school for only three to four periods a day, and return to their homes for lunch. After this initiation period, the days are extended to from four to five periods. Most the four period days end with school lunches eaten together in the classroom; on the two five period days of each week the first graders return and go for one period after lunch--often music or some other favorite which easily catches their attention.

Within the framework of this relatively undemanding schedule, the teacher works to establish order. One typical trick is to announce certain basic rules such as for the arrangement of desks, and keep on checking to see whether students comply with this. Still another is to establish a hectic pace of activity in the classroom composed largely of things that the students want to do--opening texts, reciting, performing exercises, singing songs. Thus the students are left with little time to become disorderly. A teacher adopting this strategy might spend an unusual amount of time preparing colorful displays to put on the blackboard, or trying to teach through game-like devices, often prepared by the students. Classroom order is developed through conditioning students to cooperate in groups that prepare contributions for the total class.

One of the most impressive strategies to establish order was shown me by a veteran teacher who particularly enjoyed the first and second grades. This teacher told the students that they had to use all of their senses when they worked in the classrooms; their fingers, their tongues, their eyes and ears. The teacher often pointed to her own eye, ear, tongue or hands as a way of asking students to turn on one of their senses; especially she stressed the need for students to open their ears and listen when she pointed to her ears. In turn when it was the student's turn to present, this teacher would focus her eyes and ears on them. This teacher was remarkable in her ability to keep her side of the promise; she would seem to lend her total attention to the student presenters and always managed to express some gesture of appreciation, whether through a twinkle in her eyes or a brief comment (while the actions seemed natural they were part of a complex system of rewards she had developed over the years). The students were apparently impressed by the sincerity of their teacher for within only a few weeks a sort of classroom culture had developed where one was really a bad person if he or she failed to cooperate when the teacher pointed at her forehead. The students became so accustomed to lending their attention when the teacher spoke that by the end of the first year she rarely needed to point to her forehead.

In most Japanese primary schools, a custom has developed of splitting the six grades into a lower pair (tegakunen), a middle pair (chugakunen), and an upper pair (kogakunen). Insofar as possible, students are kept together in the same home room through the full span of each two year period. Moreover, they usually keep the same teacher. Thus the lady I mentioned above took her class into the second year, and by the end of that period the students were the perfect picture of concentration. Whatever the activity turned to, the students were close to total involvement. The teacher had to devote no more than ten percent of her time to maintaining order. Benjamin Bloom has commented that this high level of concentration and discipline is a key ingredient in the successes of Japanese education. According to Bloom, if the average Japanese classroom were to be given a score of twenty percent in terms of time devoted to keeping order the typical American classroom would be close to sixty.[8] Indeed, studies of American classrooms, especially those in the urban centers, indicate that teachers spend more time ordering than teaching. The Japanese school attacks the problem of order right from the beginning, impressing on students the importance of paying attention to their teacher and their fellow class members. Once this pattern is implanted, periodic reminders such as the greeting prior to starting each class are sufficient to remind students of the need to apply themselves. As a result, after the second grade a far greater proportion of each school hour is available for the teachers to attack their educational program than is true in the U.S.

Preparing to Present Oneself

One of the most difficult tasks of formal education is to get started. By the time children enter the primary school, the majority have had some experience in an educational institution. For example, in 1974 seventy-five percent of all Japanese five year olds attended a kindergarten or nursery school; eighty-five percent in the U.S.[9] While much of their pre-school education was focused on play activities, a surprising proportion of these children can write the alphabet (or the kana), read simple passages from story books, and perform other intellectual activities that they will elaborate over the next years. However, while the children may have these skills they tend to look on them as games much like their blocks or dolls. They do not appreciate the significance of these skills, and certainly are not anxious to demonstrate them before a sea of strangers in the classroom.

One of the first goals of the primary school and of the teacher is to get the children to overcome this fear of formal presentations. In the first year of a Japanese primary school, probably no other objective receives as much attention as this.

From the first day of school the teacher asks the students to answer when he calls their name. But in this request the teacher really asks for more; he explains that the room is large and he wants all the students to know each other so it would be best if they stand beside their desks to answer and speak in a loud voice. Later the teacher will insist that students stand up when they speak, regardless of the type of presentation they are asked to make. Some students respond readily to this routine, but a minority present problems. Some of the more rebellious refuse to stand or intentionally slouch; the teacher may rebuke these students before the class or make some joke about how weak they are; as many of the slouchers tend to be the class jocks, their self-image straightens their posture. Students who would not stand properly were required to repeat the procedure of standing and responding two or three times until they managed a passable presentation. Another group of students have small voices, or simply are afraid to speak, and as these students tend to be quiet and sensitive the teacher approaches them very carefully. One teacher proposed to "lend her voice" to a quiet student in an effort to convince the little girl that the other students were interested in what her small voice had to say. In another class, the teacher asked the classmates to clap when a quiet girl finally spoke loud enough for all to hear. In these examples, we see the teacher leaning heavily on the classroom group to draw the problem students out.

In many of the early classroom activities, the teacher tries to obtain full participation. For example, in a reading lesson the teacher might provide the sentence model and then ask eight students of a given row to repeat after her. Then the next model and the next row. In this way, the teacher can get all the students to speak at least once during a forty-five minute period.

In the early fall, the school has a skit day (Gakugeikai) where each class from the first grade through the sixth performs before the visiting parents (attendance is close to 100 percent). While all the classes devote a lot of energy to preparing their performances, the first grade is most extreme. A skit is chosen where all can participate--for example, in a Nativity scene skit that I saw the script was split into five two-minute acts and with a different set of students playing the lead roles of Mary and Joseph in each act. Of all the grades, the first graders put in the most time practicing--possibly as much as one fourth of each day the last two weeks before the presentation. Also they spend the most time on costumes. The effort is worthwhile for their performance tends to be the best with well enunciated lines and a smooth rotation throughout the scenes. Within a few short months, most of the first graders have overcome their fear of public presentations.

The Centrality of the School

While students may be eased into the school system, soon it becomes their major activity. This is even more the case in Japan than in the U.S. In almost every respect one can think of, Japan seems to take an extra step towards enhancing the centrality of the school.[10]

The Japanese school is required to hold classes for at least 240 days each year or roughly six days a week for forty weeks. Even though the school year is much longer in Japan, attendance rates are much higher. Parents believe their children should go to school, no matter what. Rarely will parents plan a family trip when school is in session, and the tendency for most fathers to work a six-day week discourages long family weekends at the beach or in other diversions. The major excuse for absence from school is sickness, yet many children with severe colds and other maladies refuse to stay home. The face masks and runny noses speak for themselves. At the schools I visited which tended to average in size from 400 to 900 students, an average of from 5 to 10 students would be absent on a given day--or about one percent. The absentee rate in American primary schools is at least three times as high.

The school in Japan runs from April to March, and rather than a long summer vacation as in the U.S., it has several smaller breaks--two weeks between school years, a "golden" week after the first month of school, one and a half months of summer vacation, a week in October, and then two weeks for the New Year's festival. This series of short breaks provides children with relief, but never really gives them a long enough span of time to completely forget their status as students. Even during the summer break, students may receive assignments and some may go on excursions planned by their school club.

As the Japanese population and economy have grown, land, especially in the cities, has become quite scarce. Thus in many communities the school grounds are the only space available for children to play. Hence, even during the summer many children come to their schools to play with their friends. And during the school year, they will linger after school until the grounds are closed. In spacious America, children are more likely to find play space near their homes--a local little league ball park, a wooded area, or an armory.

Traditionally in Japan the public school was the only place available in a community for holding community sports days, assembling for local festivals, and listening to speeches by politicians or famous men of letters. Partly for this reason, the school was considered a very important institution, and parents vied to gain positions on the school P.T.A. board.[11] To a degree, especially in the cities, the broader community functions of the school have declined. Nevertheless, most parents still esteem the school and its activities.

Invariably all families who have children in school pay their dues to the P.T.A. and attend the appropriate functions. The monthly "observation" day is one indication; on this day parents are invited to come and watch their child's class for an hour or two; at the lower grades (despite the other obligations they have such as part-time job or housework), easily seventy percent of the mothers attend each month.[12] The high level of participation stems from the parent's desire to see their children adjust comfortably to the school routine.

The parents expect a lot from the schools. Increasingly parents recognize the critical role of cognitive achievement in determining educational success and hence (so they assume) occupational success. As we shall see later, the Japanese parents anxieties for the cognitive achievement of their children easily outdistances the American's. But the Japanese parents expect even more. They seem especially positive about the school's extensive program aimed at developing the non-cognitive aspects of personality--e.g. ambition, social attitudes, and moral orientations. One of the reasons for the re-institution in 1959 of a formal course in moral education was the sense that the schools were falling down in this regard. Of course, at times there are protests about the specific content of moral education promoted in the schools, but few parents dispute the important role the school should play in this area of personal development. In contrast, American parents seem to believe this broader education should take place in the homes, the community, and the church.

Moral Education

Formal schooling in morals has a long history in Japan. Some would say that Tokugawa education consisted of little else. The founders of the modern educational system included this course in the curriculum, originally borrowing texts from France.[13] However, it was not long before native texts were developed, many of which were quite inspiring. Unfortunately this course was misused by the military during the wartime period to indoctrinate youth, and hence as it acquired a bad reputation it was originally eliminated from the postwar curriculum. However, against the strong objections of many progressive intellectuals who feared a revival of narrow indoctrination, the course was revived in 1959.

Given this background, I expected the worse when I went to my first moral education class: dull Confucian texts sermonizing on the need for patriotism or greater filial piety. Much to my surprise, the class had no text. Rather at the bell, one of the students turned on the T.V. at the front of the classroom and for the next fifteen minutes we watched a short drama. Afterwards, the teacher and the students joined in a discussion to try to identify the moral lessons contained in the drama. From week to week the content varied, but never did I see the programs grapple with political themes. Rather they emphasized fundamental concerns such as the value of lif[illegible] the foolishness of fighting, the importance of friendship, the problems of old people. Actually no drama conveyed a specific message. The lesson was developed through the subsequent dialogue of the teacher and the students. In a drama where a child failed to respect a parent, the teacher could have directed the discussion towards the traditional theme of filial piety. Instead, in the class I watched the teacher steered the discussion towards the more general value of respect for the dignity of others. The format allowed considerable flexibility.

I quickly overcame my bias against moral education and looked forward to each week's new drama. From the rapt attention the kids paid to these programs, I could tell that I was not alone. These classes by themselves probably achieved very little. However, the lessons they presented were reinforced by other school activities providing a dimension of education that is not found in the American primary school.

The School Routine as Moral Education

We have already noted the great pains the teacher takes to establish order in the classroom; most teachers try to explain to the students that proper classroom behavior is a way of showing respect for fellow students. Also by relying on groups, the teacher tries to get the students to appreciate the worth of their fellows.

Monday morning of each school week begins with the *chorei*, a simple ceremony where all the students line up on the school grounds to listen to various announcements from student government officers, club leaders, and teachers. After these are completed the principal stands and makes a small speech which usually has a moral element in it. One of the memorable speeches reflected on the importance of "things," both inanimate such as the school grounds and equipment and animate such as the animals kept by one of the student clubs; above all, the principal emphasized the importance of human life and concluded by asking the students to look out for their own lives and those of their fellow students, to be careful of the traffic, to not push themselves when they caught colds, etc. When an untoward rash of events such as systematic name-calling emerged among a group of students, the principal would speak in an oblique way about the delicacy of human feelings. At the end of the quarter, as the students prepared for vacation, the principal urged them to try to think of one special thing to do each day that would help their parents. These little speeches were delivered in good humor and rarely lasted for more than five minutes. Most students appeared to forget the specifics of these speeches by the lunch period. However, the spirit of the principal's words did seem to stick with them.

Each day's routine also included several events with definite moral messages. To me, the most impressive of these was the noon-day lunch period. Partly for economic reasons, most primary schools do not have a separate lunchroom, but rather the children eat in their respective classrooms with the teachers. Cooks prepare the basic ingredients (usually a porridge, a condiment, a bottle of milk, and two slices of bread) and around noon divide these into trays intended for each class. At 12:15 following the bell for the fourth period, a group of students from each class puts on white aprons and masks, walks to the kitchen, and collects their class's portion. These groups then carry their class's portion back to the classroom and serve each student. When all is prepared, the students sing a little song of thanks and begin their lunch. After lunch, the entire class cooperates in putting away the dishes. Then after the rest of the class leaves to play on the school grounds, the lunch period group takes out a set of brooms and rags and proceeds to clean the classroom. Over the course of a month, every student serves on a lunch period group.

This lunch routine, at least to my eyes, contains several moral messages: no work not even the dirty work of cleaning is too low for a student; all should share equally in common tasks; the maintenance of the school is everyone's responsibility. To underline these messages, on certain days each year the entire school body from the youngest student to the principal puts on their dirty clothes and spends a couple of hours in a comprehensive cleaning of the school building and grounds.

The schools actually depend on the students and teachers, for they have no budget to employ personnel especially for cleaning. Some say it is a shame to make teachers and students perform these dirty tasks, but to me the educational merits and the economics far outweigh whatever liabilities there might be. American schools, with their more lavish cafeteria facilities to serve food and their special personnel for cleaning forego an important educational experience.

Student government provides another vehicle for moral education. Each semester, the fourth to sixth graders meet to hear speeches from candidates and then select the officers for a student self-government association that performs an impressive array of services. Student government helps in the planning of school events such as sports day and cultural day; it sponsors various clubs such as the animal club that maintains a small collection of animals on the school grounds, the gardening club which plants flowers, several sports clubs which among other things help to keep the grounds in good condition, and the radio club which operates the school P.A. system making most of the announcements and providing a daily lunchtime musical program. Teacher advisers supervise these student activities, but insofar as possible they stay in the background and let students learn on their own to make decisions and assume reponsibilities.

School events also provide occasions for moral education in the broadest sense. At a minimum, each year every class takes a day trip to some well-known place they might not otherwise go to such as a shrine or a botanical gardens. The sixth graders take an overnight trip. The major aim of these trips is to promote fellowship and a memorable common experience. At the same time, little lessons such as the need to keep in line, to throw trash away, and give seats on the public busses to old people are not neglected. The annual sports day and cultural day provide occasions for class mates to work as a team. In summer virtually every aspect of the school routine is permeated with a manifest objective of getting something done and a latent objective of developing student character.

Handling Problems

Perhaps because so much energy is devoted to moral education, most Japanese primary schools experience very few "serious" problems with their students. The attendance rates are high, and virtually all absences are involuntary. One sees very few fights, and most that do occur are broken up almost immediately by classmates. Cliques and heckling are rare.

In the school I visited most intensively, there was only one serious problem throughout the year, and it was interesting to watch how this was handled. The incident began during the morning roll-call when the boy in charge called a girl by her (unappreciated) nickname of "pig". The girl was offended and refused to answer so the boy raised his voice and yelled pig several times. There was snickering but the girl still refused to answer. Later that morning during a break several kids gathered around the girl and chanted "pig, pig, pig..." Deeply hurt (or as Japanese would say, "having lost her face") she ran away from the group. For the remainder of the school day she did not speak a word, and after going home she refused to return for over a week. The teacher in charge of the class had not been present during the periods when the girl was insulted so she did not appreciate what had happened.

Later that day the girl's mother called to ask what had gone on. Immediately the principal began a quiet investigation in cooperation with the teacher. By that evening, parts of the story were out and the principal visited the child's home to apologize to her parents. The next day and on each successive day until the problem was solved, special teacher's meetings were held with all present to seek a solution. On three occasions the principal and/or the girl's homeroom teacher went to the girl's home and talked with her. The final resolution involved a visit by the entire class to the girl's home where apologies were offered along with a request that the insulted girl forgive her friends. Two days later she returned to school, and two weeks later the involved teacher read a final report to the regular teacher's meeting and then apologized for having caused the school so much trouble. This process involved a tremendous amount of consultation and patience. Yet throughout, no one was blamed or reprimanded and no one received black marks on their permanent "record." The goal was restitution rather than punishment and it succeeded. The school went on as before, and all were a little wiser for their trouble.

The Curriculum

The Japanese teacher is harnessed to a demanding curriculum decided by the central government.[14] At the primary level, this curriculum covers three different areas--moral education, special events (such as ceremonies, excursions and athletic meetings, and classroom guidance on health, safety, etc.) and regular subjects. As we consider the first two in greater detail elsewhere, we concentrate here on the regular curriculum consisting of eight subjects: Japanese language and literature, social studies, mathematics, science, music, arts and handicrafts, home-making, and physical education.

While as in other advanced nations, the subject receiving the largest amount of time is language and literature, it is of some interest in view of the reported complexity of Japanese to find that the Japanese primary school spends a smaller proportion of its total educational time on language.[15] On the other hand, the Japanese primary school spends relatively more time on music, fine arts, and physical education--subjects that children, especially young ones, tend to enjoy the most. While national comparisons in other areas are more difficult, it would appear that the Japanese primary school spends a greater proportion of its classroom time on arithmetic than most American primary schools and somewhat less time on social studies; also it treats science as a separate subject from the first grade whereas American primary schools tend to integrate science with other subjects.

However, these dry statistics do not really convey the complexity of the Japanese curriculum, nor the demands it makes on the teacher. Whereas in America some of the subjects such as physical education and music tend to be strictly for fun and with no real curriculum, that is certainly not the case in Japan. Even for physical education the teacher gives a lecture before the students parade out onto the grounds. The curriculum goes through a systematic program from the first through the sixth grade designed to develop motor skills in a sequence related to scientific research on physical development. Toss ball, dodge ball and a number of other related games are introduced in primary school, but basketball is postponed until the first year of middle school.

Of all the courses in the Japanese primary school, music was to me the most impressive. The vast majority of schools have special rooms for music equipped with pianos, organs, accordions, xylophones, and several standard percussion instruments. From the first grade students begin to practice the recorder and by the second grade they are familiar with a longer wind instrument similar to a simple clarinet. Also they begin to read music. From the third grade, those who know something about the piano (in urban areas, as many as 80 percent of the girls take lessons)[16] try the organs, and gradually they share their skill with the others. At this stage, the students are sometimes split into several groups to play different scores of music. By the time they are fourth graders, they have sufficient diversity in their music reading and playing skills so that they can produce an orchestral sound. And while the quality varies from class to class according to the skill of the teacher, some classes by the time they are in sixth grade produce a very impressive sound. Moreover, most students at this level are able to switch readily between at least three different instruments. The first time I saw this level of achievement I could not believe my eyes; but after the fifth primary school I had to recognize that it was widespread. While the members of the orchestras and bands in American primary schools achieve this level, most of the remaining students are musically illiterate. Comparisons in art are nearly as dramatic.

These achievements are all the more impressive in that they are nurtured by the ordinary homeroom teachers who have responsibility not only for these subjects but also for all the other subjects of the curriculum. The typical primary school has no specialists; each teacher is expected to be able to teach the full curriculum, and most do. Some who feel especially weak in a certain area may exchange their responsibility in, for example, music for another teacher's responsibility in science; but such arrangements are private and relatively exceptional. Seventy percent of the primary school teachers teach the full array of regular subjects. While it is a strain to cover so many subjects, the teachers seem to enjoy it, and moreover, they think it their responsibility as conveyors of whole man education to be as close as possible to this ideal.

The Texts for Social Studies

Educational innovation places increasing stress on audio-visual techniques and learning through experience. Nevertheless, texts still remain the principal vehicles for education both in Japan and the U.S., and so I made a modest effort to become acquainted with them.[17]

One difference that immediately struck me was the friendlier feel of the Japanese texts. They usually have a face the size of a large pocketbook with some humorous picture on the cover, and at the primary level they are no more than a centimeter thick. The cover is made of paper giving an appearance closer to a comic book than a real book which American schools seem to prefer. Partly this difference stems from the practice in Japan of giving free texts to the students (which they can keep after the year is over) contrasted with the text loaning system adopted by most American schools. Also the Japanese prefer light texts as the school children take most of their texts home each day rather than leave them in their desks.

While it is easy to comment on these external differences, the analysis of what is found inside the texts is a much more complicated business. To do a proper job, one almost has to perform an autopsy of every page of every subject, obviously beyond the scope of this report. Instead, I will limit myself here to mentioning a few impressions relevant to the theme of egalitarian whole man education. For this purpose, the social studies texts are the most interesting.

Texts in Japan are written on the basis of a Course Guideline developed by the Ministry of Education, and, moreover, have to be approved by the Ministry appointed examiners.

In that the Ministry is responsible to a conservative regime and its examiners are reputed to censor progressive themes (as in the case of Ienaga Saburo's high school text on Japanese history), I expected that these texts would present a distinctly conservative picture of society. To my surprise, the texts if anything were predominantly progressive in tone. While they celebrated work, primarily they highlighted the ordinary work of the common people. And the texts were critical of the ravages of recent heavy industrialization.

The first year social studies text dwells on places that are part of the immediate experience of students--their school, their homes, and their neighborhood. The chapter on the school introduces the students to the various people involved with the school but placing special emphasis on the important contributions of the building and grounds personnel and the cooks. On the other hand, no mention is made of the principal. The section on homes begins with a picture of the various tasks performed by the members of a gray-collar family, and then portrays variations in homes centered around other work. All the homes illustrated in the text have parents working in blue or gray collar occupations and the text seems intent on emphasizing the contribution children are expected to make a family life. In a later section the text lists the various people who come to the home, the milkman, the mailman, the oilman, etc. and stresses how family life depends on these services.

The second year text picks up on the work theme by introducing people who work in the market from which the food for the family's meals come, and then goes beyond to discuss the lives of farmers and fishers. Finally the text turns to bus and train drivers and public servants including firemen and policemen. As in the first year text, the descriptions are limited to working and lower middle class occupations. The third year text shifts the focus towards geography and ecology. On the very first page is a picture of Fuji City lying at the foot of Mt. Fuji, Japan's premier symbol of naturalism.[18] The picture features a factory belting clouds of smoke into a hazy sky and pumping out a white scum that floats on top of the harbor water. Underneath is a caption which notes how the city is troubled now by pollution. The text begins with several lessons on map reading and in the process gives the students a picture of imaginary "Green City." Gradually it turns to the types of facilities located in the city and the problems that develop; lack of water, an inadequate sewerage system, garbage, pollution, automobile accidents, and fires. Finally the text reviews the process of city government and notes how citizens can participate. The fourth year text builds on many of the above themes, but fans out to introduce children to ever wider areas of Japan stressing the varying life styles of the people--especially farmers, fishers, and sailors--and the transportation that facilitates movement between the different areas.

The fifth year text focuses on technology and the productive process of various industries, while the sixth grade text begins an introduction of Japanese history, stressing the interrelations of Japan and the world. It concludes with a discussion of the atomic bomb that fell on Hiroshima and the importance of Peace, and then notes some activities of the United Nations.

All in all, these texts present a remarkably open-minded, even progressive picture of Japanese society.[19] Their strongest theme is the diversity of work performed by the Japanese people. Rather than picture some occupations as more or less worthy than others, the texts stress the interrelations of all occupations. Clearly, the hidden agenda is to cultivate a climate of mutual respect among students from diverse social backgrounds that hopefully will carry over into their adult lives. Many of Japan's social problems are openly recognized, as is the importance of the democratic governmental process in providing solutions.

Teachers reported that these texts were among the favorites, especially of upper grade boys. The themes they covered tended to draw out many of the children who seemed restrained in arithmetic or language. The texts carefully avoided references to Japan's minority groups, and naturally they did not portray minority group people in low-status social roles as often appears to be the case in American texts. However, teachers were quick to note other deficiencies--for example, the picture of the typical family in the first grade text clearly placed the mother in the home. But the texts were so flexible in their tone that a teacher could correct this image by asking students to imagine what life might be like in another home where the mother worked. Indeed, especially through the early years the texts seemed designed more for promoting discussion than transmitting information. Thus the social studies texts enabled the students to reflect on their own social situation.

Conventional Teaching

Japanese schools throughout the nation are remarkably similar in design: the buildings, whether wooden or ferro-concrete, consist of halls on one side from which doors open into rectangular classrooms. At the front of each classroom there is a blackboard and often a raised platform from which the teachers are expected to teach. On the side opposite the door are windows and along the back side will be a bulletin board and cubby holes for each student. Desks and chairs will be arranged usually in six straight rows (alternately girl-boy) of six to seven seats facing the front. Rarely does one see a classroom which departs from this arrangement: e.g. with extra rooms for individualized instruction of with a pie-shaped design so that students find it easier to look at each other.

The classrooms are designed for conventional teaching and by and large that is what seems to take place. The basic pattern of teaching involves lectures, directions, and questions from the teacher to the students with relatively little interaction initiated on the part of students. At any given time, all of the students grapple with the same subject matter and rarely is classroom time set aside for independent study or individualized instruction.

Each school day is divided into a series of equal length periods with breaks in between--at the primary level normally five minutes though between the second and third there is a 20-minute play time and 75 minutes is set aside for lunch. Usually the teacher starts a new lesson at the beginning of each new period; even if the children enjoy the reading they begin in period one, it is put away to take up math in period two, etc.

Many Japanese teachers, especially those with classes in the early primary grades, express their doubts about the conventional teaching approach, but explain that they have to use it in order to cover what is in their view an excessive amount of material. They express interest in the supposedly freer teaching methods of the U.S. and in innovations such as the open classroom that they see and read about in the mass media. Especially they are envious about the smaller classroom size in American schools, and feel they might be able to try different methods if they enjoyed these favorable conditions.[20]

Despite the apologies and claims to the contrary one discovers that most Japanese teachers do make significant departures from the traditional approach. For example, I was especially impressed with the efforts the teachers devoted to maximizing student participation. As I noted earlier, the stress on participation begins almost from the first day of school with the aim of building up the self-confidence of students. Depending on the subject matter, a teacher may get from ten members to the whole class to make a presentation during a given period. Most teachers carefully control the procedure for selecting students so that no individual is called more or less often than the others. One procedure is to go down the rows; another is to go by the alphabet; a third is to ask the students who complete a presentation to select the next person and so on. One teacher I watched was a true master at achieving full participation: she attempted to get every student to make at least one presentation every hour; during one 45 minute mathematics class I say her elicit eight different acts of student participation. Most of these involved students advancing to the front board to solve a problem. While this teacher maintained a calm face as if there was nothing unusual about the level of participation she achieved, at least to the outside observer the pace was dizzying. It seemed perfectly appropriate for the teacher to periodically interrupt each frenzied day with sprees of simple exercises. These relieved the muscular tension that seemed to develop in the necks and shoulders of the students.

A second departure of interest was the extensive reliance on sub-groups both for education and for other school tasks. Indeed, the sub-group structure was often so complex that I wondered how the children could keep up with it. For normal classwork, the teacher usually split the class into groups of four or six children sitting in adjacent seats. For special assignments such as a science experiment or putting together a collage, these basic groups would work together. Sometimes the teacher would even ask the class to break up into these groups to discuss a problem such as the cause of pollution in the rivers or the lack of a sewerage system in certain areas of their city; a representative of the group (the person usually would rotate from day to day) would then provide a group report. A different set of groups were formed to alternate in managing the weekly student activities class. Still another set of groups was formed to assume responsibility for the various class chores such as keeping the blackboards clear, preparing exhibits for the bulletin boards, and so on. An yet another set was created for the physical education period, As can be seen, the organization of a class is surprisingly complicated.

Of the groups, the most frequently used were those mentioned first. These basic groups which would do something together at least twice a day were kept intact for about two months and then the members would be reshuffled. The teachers explained that they formed these groups and relied on them largely to promote a friendly and cooperative feeling among the students (nakayoshi). Teachers put a lot of thought into the composition of their groups. In general they tried to create balanced groups composed of people with diverse abilities, and they would encourage the students to help each other.

Sometimes when students worked on their arithmetic the teacher would ask the fast members of a group to coach the slow ones. Indeed one teacher I watched clearly planned her arithmetic and language class assignments so that the quick students would be done in 15 minutes, then after checking their work she would send them off to help others. She consciously employed the "learn one-teach one" approach, because she felt it promoted comradeship among the students.[21] In one of the classes I saw, a male student was socially immature for his age so the teacher put him in a group with three exceptionally tolerant girls who seemingly took it as their mission to bring the boy around; when he would not stand up for a class presentation, they would push him up and when he struggled with an answer they would supply him with tips. Under no circumstances would the teachers consciously form groups stratified by ability as is the practice in growing numbers of American schools. While the teachers recognized differences in ability among their students, they felt it was their responsibility as public school teachers in a democratic society to try to bring all the students up to a common level; rather than promote the bright students at the expense of the slow, they sought to channel the energies of the bright into pulling their slower fellows up. Groups were conceived of as educational vehicles in the broadest sense rather than as mere instruments for rationalizing cognitive education.

When the teachers shifted to the group method, they often would ask the students to rearrange their desks so that those of each group of four came together. Other seating arrangements were also employed. For example, in the student activities class desks would often be rearranged in a semi-circle to face a central table behind which the week's discussion leaders would be seated. Occasionally this same arrangement would be used when the class discussed a problem in social studies. On rainy days when the students could not go outside for physical education, they would push all the desks to the back and play games in the classroom. These departures from normal seating arrangements were perhaps not as frequent as one would find in the typical American school; on the other hand, the desks of a Japanese classroom are never nailed to the floor as Silberman says sometimes happens in the U.S.[22]

Japanese teachers also utilized unconvential teaching aids such as slide projectors, special drawing and graphs, mimeographed sets of arithmetic problems they prepared at home, and so on. However, various factors prevented them from using these devices as much as they seemed to want to, or as much as seems to be the practice in American schools. For one, commercial companies have not made the same advances with these devices in Japan as in the U.S. and even when appropriate devices are available their cost is often beyond the reach of school budgets. So if a Japanese teacher wishes to use one of these devices, he often finds he has to prepare it at home. The heavy teaching schedule does not leave large amounts of time for this.

As we can see, Japanese teachers often depart from the framework of conventional teaching, but restraints of class size, the demands of the curriculum, and the time and money they have available for preparation keep them from straying very far. Japanese teachers seem interested in more innovation; on the other hand, I was impressed with their confidence in their present styles. Especially those teachers who had been at it for five years or more exuded a sense that they knew exactly what they were doing when they went into the classroom, and seemed able to adjust readily to the unexpected developments of each school day.

In contrast, U.S. teachers are much more prone to try unconventional teaching approaches: the teacher's colleges in the U.S. constantly generate new ideas which they share with the future teachers who study there. Also America's educational administrators, who take a much stronger role in school administration than their Japanese counterparts, seem much addicted to experimentation.[23] Thus we find that some American schools are livewire of innovation. Bells are often ignored; teaching aids tend to be heavily relied on; schools often employ specialists in areas such as remedial reading and science laboratories; in recent years individualized instructional devices have enjoyed a great boom. While these new approaches offer great promise especially in the hands of the teachers who fully understand them, most American teachers apply these mechanically at best. Many in the American teaching profession feel uncertain and uneasy about the effectiveness of the innovations they find themselves using.[24] The Japanese teacher, through sticking closely to the tried and proved conventional pattern rarely suffers in this way. As in other areas of life, perhaps confidence in one's teaching rather than the particular approach used is the most important ingredient.

Encouraging and Evaluating Students

American schools assume that individuals have different abilities. This accounts for their tolerance of many of the recent educational innovations noted above. Despite claims to the contrary by their promoters, these innovations actually seem to accelerate differences in student performance.

Japanese teachers are less ready to concede that there are inherent differences in ability, or even that the environment from which students come has an indelible effect. Far more than their American counterparts, they assume that children are equal in endowments and that differences in performance stem from lack of effort on the part of the students. They also are disposed to reason that inadequate effort stems from inadequate teaching.

Most Japanese primary schools administer I.Q. texts to their students soon after entrance, and record the scores on the student's school record. But these scores are kept in the school office where even the teachers rarely go. The schools also seek reports from the parents on their financial status, the study space available for children, and so on. Teachers turn to this material when they become worried about the performance of an individual, but otherwise they ignore it.

Essentially the teachers do not believe the tests and background information record what they should know in order to go about their work. They believe that excessive attention to this data could lead them to discriminate against students who score low but have hidden potential. Also they fear that the release of this information to outsiders, whether as individual scores or as averages for the school, could lead to social discrimination against the graduates of their school. Especially in recent years, Japanese schools have resisted the attempts by outsiders to perform the traditional school achievement studies which measure various personality traits and study their relation to school performance. Even if I had wished to show, with hard data, that the Japanese school develops the whole person (and not merely the cognitive area), I would not have been able to find a school where I could administer the appropriate tests--at least not in the Kyoto areas.[25]

As an observer sitting in a primary school classroom, especially up to the fourth grade, one can tell after a couple of days that two or three students are not performing up to the average level, and another handful are way ahead of the rest. Most of the teachers I observed tried consciously to ignore these differences and bring all into classroom activities. The very slow students often posed problems, but teachers sometimes found areas where these students did well--for example, in art or physical education--and made a special effort to call on them during these periods. In other classes the teachers might steer the easier problems to these students. While I could see these subtle departures from equal treatment, it was doubtful if the members of the class were aware of them. The teachers worked hard to give the impression to each student that he could and should pull an equal load. Apart from presentations before the class, the teachers assigned various problems either to do at home or in class. Each teacher had his red pencil, and seemed to take great delight in splashing every student's page with a sea of check marks. In the in-class exercises, the teachers would allow the brighter students to supply the answers to the slow students before descending with the red pencil. Thus everyone seemed to win in the academic competition.

This approach seemed to motivate students. Even if a student was unable to perform at the class level, he gradually developed the feeling that he should be able to. Thus by the sixth grade, it was really quite difficult for me to spot the weak students, for somehow they developed techniques to cover up their inability--on tests, though they might not answer all the questions they would turn the answers in promptly so as not to appear slow. To prepare for reading periods, they might prior to class write the kana beside the difficult Chinese characters to prevent stumbling. Thus the prevailing assumption of equality seems to operate as a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The relatively narrow range in academic achievement among Japanese students is possibly attributable to the assumption of equality of endowment.[26] If one were to listen to the critics of Japanese education, one might conclude that teachers also assume that their students are equal in performance. For example, one professor at Kyoto University claimed that all the children in his daughter's class were given a grade of three (average) in music, whereas the professor protested that surely at least in this area differential performance was easy to detect.[27] Actually these critics exaggerate, for at least in my experience I never found a school which administered equal grades.

In the schools I visited the teachers' meetings decided on the principles they would use in grading. In most cases, the teachers agreed that the readers of each class should be graded on a five point scale relative to the other members of their class. Roughly five percent would be given the top grade (5), 15 percent the better than average grade (4), 60 percent the average grade (3), 15 percent the lower than average grade (2), and five percent the lowest grade (1). This distribution has a fat middle category; some schools only put 50 or even 40 percent here; some go above 60; but all preserved some latitude to recognize exceptionally good and poor performances. Tests, often prepared by the manufacturers of the texts used by the school, were administered to the students, and the test results along with class performance became the basis for assigning students a grade in each regular subject. I took a careful look at the grade distribution and found that all teachers kept close to the above standard, even the softest teachers gave their quota of 1's and 2's. And despite the desire on the part of teachers to find strong points in all their students, some report cards consisted only of 1's and 2's.

After handing out the grades, the teachers would tell the class that most had done a good job, but she wanted each student to do better next time, to try to get more 4's and 5's on their card. Especially those who received 1's and 2's were asked to try harder. Later on a prearranged consultation day the teacher would spend ten minutes with each parent talking about the performance of their child and especially about those aspects not noted in the official report card--behavior in the classroom, ability to get along with others, health, language, and so on.

At this stage of official performance evaluation, the Japanese primary school appears to do at least as explicit a job as its American counterpart. However, I sensed that in Japan the process generates much more strain on the teachers. At one school where I spent a considerable amount of time, the teachers had been conducting research on grading for the past several years. Some of the teachers wished to move from a class-based absolute performance criteria to an individual-based criteria--how much each child had developed relative to his or her level at the previous report period. Also the teachers wished to simplify the number of grades to two or three levels from the existing five as well as to broaden the categories evaluated in each subject. Rather than a single grade for literature, they wanted to include separate evaluations for reading, speaking, writing, knowledge or literature, and so on, so that parents could have a clearer sense of their children's weak and strong points. Also they felt the report card should include comments on non-academic performance. Actually the records the teachers prepare for the school office contain information of this kind. And in some areas of Japan, notably Kyoto prefecture outside the main city, these newer methods for preparing report cards are being practiced. Rather than dwell on each student's academic standing compared to his peers, the new report cards stress total development relative to each individual's past.

Graduation

At the end of the primary school, a graduation ceremony is held where students are given a degree and asked to hold up the good name of the school. Traditionally, the school I visited chose a valedictorian to deliver a speech on behalf of the graduating class, but out of deference to equality this practice was discontinued about twenty years ago. Instead, the members of the graduating class chanted a beautiful song of nostalgia celebrating their struggles to learn, the gratitude they felt towards their teachers and parents, the fun they had on the school athletic days and the class trips, and their sense of anticipation about their next life stage as middle schoolers.

The Middle School's Opening Ceremony

The very same students we had observed in the last year of primary school took their seats in the middle school auditorium one month later wearing uniforms to mark their new status.[28] The principal welcomed them and expressed his hope that they work and make the best of the new experience. He explained the opportunities that were before them--to study, to participate in the clubs, to take responsibility for the management of the school--and then in a very serious tone he said that the students were likely to follow one of three routes: some would devote themselves wholeheartedly to all the school activities right from the beginning and thereby build a strong foundation of life, some would devote themselves to the extra-curriculum and then in their final year break open the books to prepare for the high school exams, and a final group would merely coast through wasting their new opportunity. The principal said it was up to each student to choose his or her path; now as middle schoolers they would have to take greater responsibility for their own development. The speech was much sterner than that delivered by the primary school principal six years earlier, and it signaled to students that they were now entering a new and more critical stage in their educational career.

The Middle School as a Transitional Period

Given the neat age-graded character of Japanese education, most students enter middle school in their twelfth year. Over the next three years until they graduate from the middle school, these students experience major developments in their mental and social constitution and especially in their physique that bring them closer to adulthood. During these years most middle schoolers will achieve puberty; many will experience a rapid spurt of growth that will bring them close to the maximum height they will rise to by adulthood. Also these youth will become more independent and anxious to do things on their own, less receptive to authority.

The formal education that occurs in the middle school is more difficult and more explicitly cognitively oriented than that found in the primary school, though not to the extent that prevails in the high schools and universities. While teachers are still concerned with developing whole men, there are not as many opportunities for achieving this through the formal educational process.

The Middle School's Selection Function

In the American system, places in public high school are generally guaranteed to all those students who wish to go. Moreover, in most American school systems, the high school an individual attends is determined by the place of his residence. For these reasons most American junior high students (the eauivalent of Japan's middle schoolers) do not have a very strong sense that their achievements during junior high school will affect their lives.

In contrast, in Japan places in public schools are only guaranteed through the middle school. Today most students (over 90 percent) go on for some kind of further education--but the opportunities these different institutions lead to are quite diverse. The big choices in high schools are between public and private schools (which tend to be more expensive), and between ordinary (academic) courses that prepare students for higher education and vocational courses. In 1975, 31 percent of all the high school places were in the private sector and 60 percent were in ordinary high schools.

The main tendency among today's youth is to wish to go to a good academic high school so that they can promote their chance to get into a good university. Several of the most effective high schools in preparing students for universities are in the private sector. These "famous schools" select a relatively small proportion of the total high school cohort (perhaps two percent) based largely on their performance on competitive academic entrance examinations. Most middle school students cannot hope to meet the entrance standards of these schools, and even if they could often times their parents would not be able to afford the tuition. Thus the typical college oriented students aspire to get into a good public high school, or failing that one of the less noted private ordinary high schools. (Some are relatively inexpensive).

Public high schools also use entrance exams, but often these account for only one half of the total score used in deciding admissions. The other half of the score is based on grades during the third year of middle school. In Kyoto, we might note that the high school entrance exams cover all of the subjects that students have studied during their middle school days (that is, not only what might be considered the core subjects of Japanese language, social studies, mathematics and science but also the softer subjects of music, fine arts, health and physical education, and industrial arts or homemaking). Similarly, the formula for determining grade performance takes account of all subjects with weights assigned according to the number of hours studied each week. The Kyoto educational officials explain that they believe each of the subjects is in the curriculum to develop a different aspect of their students. To insure that students do not neglect specific areas this comprehensive evaluative system provides the greatest incentive. Public high schools in many of the other prefectures tend to only test the core subjects.

The Cognitive Function in Middle School Education

Regardless of the system used or the type of school a student aspires to, what he has learned by the end of his middle school days is going to play a crucial role. What the ordinary student learns is in part determined by what he is exposed to--or at least this seems to be widely believed in Japan. This belief leads to a much stronger sense of purposefulness in the middle school classroom. One indication is the plain decor of the school--few flowers on the grounds, virtually no decorations in the rooms, and of course the sobering uniforms worn by the students.

Teaching in the middle schools is also more purposeful. Except for the smallest middle schools, each teacher specializes in a given subject, and he appears over the course of a day in several classrooms to teach his specialty. The style of teaching is far more cognitively oriented than in the primary school. Teachers lecture more, and are relatively less likely to turn over time to sub-groups in the class. While the teachers call on students, they do not show nearly as strong a concern with achieving full participation. Indeed in the classes that I attended, teachers actually seemed to bias their calls for student presentations to those who were the strongest performers. In part, this was to impress me. But when I asked the teachers, they also explained that this was more efficient from an educational point of view. Moreover, they indicated that they were more concerned with the development of the best students than with those who did not try. This last explanation, of course, reflected their belief that performance was essentially a function of effort.

Student behavior in the middle school classrooms generally reflected the seriousness of their teachers. Most students prepared their lessons and seemed concerned about grades. During the exam periods at the end of each trimester, they really buckled down putting in four to six hours of home study each day. They, in general, showed the appropriate respect to the teacher starting each class with a "good morning" and standing when called upon. There was, of course, some cutting up, especially in the afternoon and in courses the students could not get very excited about--English and homemaking for example. But these rarely appeared like systematic efforts of disruption, just natural expressions of humor aimed at relieving tension.

The texts in middle schools are stocked with many more facts and figures than those of the primary school, and I found those I read to be pretty dull. They reinforced my general impression that the middle school took learning, or rather the ingestion of material, very seriously. However, the teachers I met insisted that I did not have the full picture. A math teacher said he tried to get students to see the beauty of mathematical proofs and the possibilities for creativity in this subject. A literature teacher said he enjoyed trying to convey to students the wonders of great literature--the complexity of plots, the resurgence of themes, the sublety of symbols. Indeed, most teachers expressed lofty goals for their teaching, goals of teaching through the curriculum the feelings and behavior appropriate in the real world, but then in the next breath they said these were difficult to achieve given the pace of the curriculum.

Evaluations in the middle school were more explicitly tied to achievement than in the primary school. Towards the end of each semester exams were administered to all the students in all their subjects. However, in contrast with the primary school, the exams for each subject of each grade were usually prepared by all the teachers who had these classes. Moreover, the marking was performed jointly by all these teachers. As a result, a student's mark from 1 to 5 in a given course represented his performance relative to all of the students at his grade level in the school and not merely relative to those in his immediate homeroom. Also the schools occasionally administered all city exams to size up the school's performance relative to other middle schools in the city, and to help students understand their level of performance relative to a wider group.

Compared to the sobriety of the Japanese middle school classroom, the American scene is closer to a carnival. Classrooms are often disrupted, and teachers struggle to get through what is a much less demanding curriculum. In America, this is considered a period of adolescence where youth should not be pushed too hard.

The Home Room

While I present a picture of purposeful formal education, the middle school has its lighter side and this serves to round out or humanize the total experience. One part of this more human side is the tight knit homeroom. Each year, the entering students to the middle school are divided into several homeroom classes of about 40 students each. These students are assigned to a specific homeroom where they will spend most of their educational time. Also they are assigned a homeroom teacher who meets with them as a class once a week and who is available for private conferences whenever individual students wish this. As in the primary school, the members of the homeroom assume the responsibility for cleaning their classroom. It is also the basic unit from which representatives are elected to the student government.

Several intramural events are scheduled each year under the auspices of the student government association to promote a we-feeling among the students. In the spring, boys representing each of their homerooms compete in intramural baseball and girls in softball. In the fall there is an athletic meet. And in the winter, the homerooms face off in soccer and basketball. Also a school culture day is held each fall and the members of each class prepare an exhibit of some kind in their classroom as well as present a skit or musical performance in the school auditorium. These activities occur with surprising frequency throughout the year, and most homerooms try to do well in them. In the process, the students get to know each other in a more informal way. At the end of a year, many homerooms hold private parties at a tea house with their teachers where they reminiscence about the fun they have had together. Sometimes a homeroom class becomes so close that its members form an alumni club (dosokai) and make a pact to meet later on.

Student Clubs

Japanese middle schools have a large number of school clubs for activities such as tennis basketball, soccer, music, art, and history, and virtually every middle schooler belongs to one.

First year students join these clubs simply by expressing an interest and participating regularly in the club's activities; if the student's ability is low (as, for example, in a skill like tennis that most middle schoolers have no prior exposure to) the older club members provide instructions. The idea behind the club is to promote fellowship and an opportunity for personal development; the clubs of a given school may play that of another, but this is usually in fun and all members are allowed to compete from the most skilled to the raw newcomers. These clubs receive small subsidies from the PTA to purchase necessary equipment such as balls, bases, drawing paper, etc.

I personally got a great thrill out of watching the club activities. Most clubs met every afternoon after school for about an hour and a half and on Saturdays they might meet longer. At these times every inch of the school grounds seemed to be employed. On a single tennis court six girls might be popping tennis balls back and forth at each other. Then after ten minutes they would rotate with a platoon of boys. And then back to the girls. In the meantime advanced players would give tips to newcomers while others would find a corner to practice volleying. Nearby vigorous basketball and volleyball games would be going on.[29]

Student Government

One other vehicle for whole man education is the student government association. As in the primary school, this association assumes responsibility for a surprising diversity of functions, and without it the school would truly be crippled. In addition to those activities mentioned for the primary school, the middle school association manages the various club activities, it arranges the school events, it selects and purchases books for the school library as well as provides the librarians, and it develops and administers the regulations on student behavior (e.g. uniform styles, length of hair).

Each homeroom class elects representatives to sit in the association. Also twice each year, association officers are selected following a week of campaigning which sometimes gets quite spirited with long soap box speeches and testimonials during the lunch break and in the special pre-election assembly. These campaigns and assemblies as well as the assemblies wrapping up each "regime's" term of service are also of special importance as a means of channeling student complaints to the school administration (the principal and most teachers attend these assemblies). At one assembly, I heard a female representative complain that the girl's bathroom stalls needed locks, for, in her words, it was very embarrassing for two girls to face each other "cheek to cheek." Naturally, this expression provoked a lot of laughter, but a week later locks were on the stalls. In this same assembly, another girl stood up and made a moving speech about discrimination: in this she touched on the discrimination of big people against smaller people, of older students against new students, and of teachers against students; possibly, this girl was addressing herself in as subtle a way as she could to the broader problem of class and outcaste discrimination which has in recent years begun to trouble some of Japan's schools. At the end of these assemblies, the principal stands up and comments on the proceedings; invariably one of his comments is to the effect that the students have not been very attentive to the speeches of their fellow students. This he points out shows a lack of maturity and respect. In response to the student's requests, the principal promises to do what is in his power, and also makes clear what is impossible. In this way, understanding between students and staff are enchanced. And presumably the students develop a slightly better understanding of the nature of power and of politics.

Graduation

While the middle school has these more human aspects, only the first and second year students take full advantage of them. Third year students from the first days of April buckle down to prepare for the high school entrance exams they will write ten months later. Many quit their clubs or reduce their attendance. Others retire from responsible roles in the student government associations so that they can have more time to study. At least one-third of the students begin going to exam preparation schools in the late afternoon or evening, and perhaps a fourth receive special guidance from a private tutor once a week at their home. After ten months of this regime the students sit for the exams that decide their high school, and then in mid-March they attend their middle school graduation ceremony.

In some respects, this ceremony marks the most critical transition of their lives. Despite the pressures of study, these youth enjoyed much free time for horseplay and developing rich friendships during their middle school days. Those who secure entrance to an ordinary high school will have to abandon much of this fun in order to make a credible preparation for the subsequent university entrance exams. A minority of the middle school graduates will head straight for the labor force where, from the ripe age of 15, they will be tied to a demanding daily routine. The graduation ceremony ending the middle school was approriately solemn. This was the first assembly I watched where there was not even a single unruly peep from the students. The school principal wished the students well and handed out the certificates. The head of the P.T.A. also offered his good wishes. Finally the valedictorian of the graduating class--symbolizing the school's belief that some had made better use of their middle school days than others--gave a short speech, partly nostalgic and partly philosophical, but above all full of complicated words and phrases to symbolize the intellectual achievements of his class. The students then marched out of the assembly and through the school gate as their parents and the younger students clapped in rhythm. Thirty years ago, this scene would have meant the students were marching off to war. In a sense, things have not changed, for the next stage is the lives of most is what in Japan is known as the examination hell.

The High School Experience

In looking beyond the middle school, perhaps the most important consideration is the particular high school a student manages to get into. Up to this point most students have studied the uniform curriculum of public middle schools. Depending on the high school they enter they will be exposed to either an academic or vocational curriculum, a fast-paced exam-oriented educational style or a more extensive general education, and they will either find time for clubs and fun or become chained to the rigors of exam preparation. High school marks the low point in the life-cycle of many Japanese youth. They have to work harder and think deeper than before. And there are few human compensations. Still it is a place of growth and change: Of especial importance for our broader argument, high school is the period when youth solidify their indentification with their peers and take bold steps to move away from familial and other adult institutional influences. In Chapters seven and eight, we will examine this development.

Parental Participation

Parents constitute an important background for the activities of the Japanese school. It is surprising how much interaction goes on between parents and the school, and how hard the school works to try to explain what it is doing. The objective in the school's communication effort seems to be to win parents over to the school's way, or at least to establish a basis of empathy on which a reasonable discussion of differences becomes possible.

The P.T.A. is the formal organization for coordinating parental participation. In the schools I visited, at least one parent of each student belonged. From each homeroom, three mothers (sometimes a father) were chosen to participate in the P.T.A. Council, and the most active among these were made officers. The Council met rarely, but the officers frequently telephoned Council members or sent out notices. On the other hand, the officers met almost weekly with the school principal and thus had abundant opportunity to learn about the school as well as to convey parental concerns.

One of the major concerns of parents was to see how their children adapted to school, so the schools have a monthly participation day. On this day, parents are invited to watch their child's class for a couple of hours. Afterwards there is often a special lecture for the visiting parents on a topic such as family education, safety, nutrition or what not. With only a few exceptions, mothers represented their families on these days; usually two out of every three mothers were present. On special occasions such as sport's day or report card day (teachers not only gave out written report cards but also were expected to meet with all interested parents on a given day to discuss each student's performance), participation was close to 100 percent. These occasions provided parents with the opportunity to speak more bluntly to their teachers, and many did not hesitate. They complained that their child did not understand certain lessons, there was not enough homework assigned, that they did not think their child had a very good seat in the classroom, and so on; and of course they asked about the grades. Teachers quickly became accustomed to these complaints and developed strategies of response. At the same time, the exchanges were human and served to remind teachers of how much the parents looked to them for effective education.

In addition, to facilitate communication most teachers sent out periodic notices of class activities, requesting, for example, that students wear dirty clothes for a special painting day or good walking shoes for a nature excursion. Also many schools, especially those of the middle school level or above, published a monthly newspaper (financed by the P.T.A.) where teachers and the principal explained what the school was trying to accomplish.

While parents were encouraged to participate and had channels that enabled them to influence their school, they had no power. They could not bring about the resignation of a teacher or principal nor force a reassignment. Decisions of this nature were the province of teachers, the principal, and the local school board. Thus despite the conspicuous presence of parents and the extent to which they participated in the school life, the schools were in most importance respects autonomous from parental influence.

The Democratic Management of Schools

Through watching the ways their schools are run, students gain impressions about the appropriate management of other institutions. While there is little question but that what goes on in Japanese schools is ultimately the responsibility of local school boards and the principal, it is remarkable the extent to which the schools manage to obscure this fact. As we have seen, students perform a great variety of managerial tasks: they call roll, clear classrooms and buildings, serve their own lunches, run the intercom system, develop and enforce codes of conduct, plan and manage sports day, and take virtually total responsibility for the diverse program of school clubs. This is not accidental. Japanese educators believe that this student participation in school constitutes important training for later citizen participation in society.

It was also of considerable interest to me to find that teachers participated extensively in the government of their schools--much more so than one finds in the U.S. As one principal remarked, "How can teachers develop whole-men if they, in their own affairs, fail to practice democracy." But of course the explanation for teacher power is more complex.

We have already discussed in Chapter three how the Japanese teacher's union has become an extremely powerful force in postwar Japanese education. In many prefectures the union organization is so strong that local governments cannot proceed in educational policy without first achieving the understanding of union leaders. This stand-off between the union and the government casts its shadow on the management of individual schools. Especially in areas where the union is strong, such as Kyoto, principals find it imperative to develop a cooperative rather than an authoritative relation vis a vis their teaching staff. Decisions on the budget, the various schedules, teacher and student class assignments, and a multitude of other matters are all made by the teacher's meeting. This meeting convenes for about five minutes every morning and for an hour or so one afternoon per week, and it is chaired on a rotating basis by each teacher. The principal and the assistant principal are treated as ordinary members in these meetings. The assistant principal's special contribution is to make announcements about matters where he, as full-time administrator, is especially well informed--e.g. repairs of the building and grounds, the content of the daily lunches, and such operational matters. The principal is often called on to give his opinions on questions of student guidance, discussions with parents, and other educational areas out of deference to his lengthy experience. However, it is not unusual to see other teachers dispute the principal's assertions, and sometimes the teacher's meeting even rejects the recommendation of these two administrative officers. The principal can request that individual teachers do various things, but I found no area where he could give an order; thus even when I asked for the chance to observe schools, the principal stressed he was in favor but the final decision rested with the teacher's meeting.

Concerning conduct within the classroom the principal has virtually no role. Teachers are selected by the local school board rather than the principal, and once appointed they have tenure. According to the regulations teachers are supposed to submit daily and weekly teaching plans to the principal for his inspection. But those teachers who submit plans (about half) usually do this after, rather than before, they cover the indicated material. Principals are free to visit the classrooms of teachers and frequently do so, but in my year of observation, I never heard of an instance where a principal directly rebuked a teacher. Whenever a principal had misgivings, he would try to express these in an indirect manner--with a philosophical comment at a teacher's meeting or at one of the bi-weekly research meetings. Also most schools conducted periodic demonstration classes where all the teachers and the principal would visit the class of a specific teacher; the discussions following these sessions enabled the principal to make his point if no one else made it for him. In other areas of Japan, where the teacher's union is not so strong, principals are more forthright and assert greater authority than in Kyoto. Nevertheless, even in the most conservative areas, teachers are allowed considerable freedom in their classrooms and an impressive degree of influence in broader administrative decisions.[30]

At the end of each calendar year, most Japanese work organizations have some kind of party to "forget the old year."

(Sobetsukai). I have attended a number of these in the past, but none was as memorable as that of the Kyoto primary school where I first launched my fieldwork. Arriving at the party, I along with all the other attendants drew a straw to determine where to sit - would it be with the principal, the prettiest teacher, or might it be the janitor. The fact is that all the non-student members of the school were invited without distinction. In watching the way this school had managed its daily affairs, I had increasingly come to the conclusion that the principal of hierarchial authority was virtually absent. Rather each member from principal to cook to teacher was a specialist in his or her particular function having special say on matters pertaining to their specialty and equal say on matters affecting the entire school. The end of the year party reflected this everyday reality. While I drew a seat at the principal's table, soon he was floating about the room sharing his cup with all the personnel. Likewise, most of the other participants were standing about pretending to be merry and making fun of each other. Songs were half-sung, and drunken dancing feigned. After it was all over, however, traditional Japan returned. The men retired to the assistant principal's favorite bar. And after two hours of drinking, he, as the most important member of our small group, picked up the tab. I, somewhat guiltily, appreciated this convention to its egalitarian alternative.

Conclusion

I have tried to provide the reader with an account of the Japanese educational process as I witnessed it. I had an objective in mind, to discover egalitarian themes. Perhaps the objectives closed my eyes to other phenomena of great significance. Regardless, I think I saw enough to reach a few conclusions that are difficult to dispute:

1. Education occupies a much more central place in the lives of Japanese than American youth. Japanese children believe their performance has great personal consequences, they go to school more hours out of each year, they have fewer alternate ways to spend their time; moreover, their parents encourage them to work hard in school. It might be said that the Japanese student's relation to his school approaches that of a patient or criminal to a total institution. When individuals like total institutions, these individuals are likely to be positively affected by the institution's treatments. Japanese children like their schools.

2. The Japanese schools aims to develop an egalitarian whole man, as can be learned through talking to principals, teachers and P.T.A. officials. Or by watching what goes on. Teachers attempt to draw out the full range of potential in their students rather than to focus narrowly on cognitive achievement. And they make a conscious effort to reach the whole class.

3. As the Japanese student progresses through his educational career the emphasis on egalitarian whole-man education declines relative to other emphases. But these later years are normally considered to be less crucial for

primary socialization. The egalitarian whole-man emphasis is so strong in the early years of schooling and the Japanese student's relation to his school is so involving that we feel certain it has an enduring impact. The next chapters will identify the nature of this impact and its consequences for society.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

[1] I wish to express my appreciation at the beginning of this chapter to the many teachers and students in Kyoto, Kagawa-ken, and elsewhere who cooperated to make the field work reported here such a memorable and hopefully communicable experience.

[2] As background for this chapter, we should note that the Japanese people trust their public primary schools. Over 99% of all Japanese children of primary school age that are physically and mentally able attend a public school; this compares with 87% in the U.S.

Not only do Japanese children go to public elementary schools, with but few exceptions they go to nearby schools where, thanks to the socioeconomic heterogeneity of Japanese neighborhoods, they study and play with children of diverse social backgrounds. As Sumiya Mikio observes, "during the unprecendented postwar housing shortage, people from both classes were forced to live side by side in similar areas, thus breaking the prewar pattern of segregation and erasing significant differences in consumption patterns." In "The Functions and Social Structure of Education: Schools and Japanese Society," Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan Vol. V, Nos. 2-3 (Dec., 1967), p. 121. Soon after the Meiji restoration the tradition of separate schools for samurai and commoners was abandoned. And since that time, the resistance to separate schools for separate people has strengthened--at least at the primary level. Today, even the handicapped (except for extreme cases) attend schools alongside normal children, and insofar as possible are expected to join in the same activities.

[3] This orientation is forcefully presented in former union chief Motofumi Makieda's recent book on the Japanese teacher, Nihon no Kyoshitachi. For an official statement, see Umene Satoru, Nihon no Kyoiku Do Aru beki ka?

[4] Benjamin Bloom, Human Characteristics and School Learning.

[5] Robert Dreeben's On What is Learned in School is still the most suggestive study of the hidden curriculum.

[6] My confidence that the differences at the primary school level are not that great across areas has been reinforced not only by my investigations at other places but also by communication with Thomas Rohlen who worked in Kobe, Professor Hashiya who worked in rural areas of Nara prefecture, and by reading the three volume account of the observations of a team of Asahi Shinbun reporters who made frequent visits to schools largely in the Tokyo area; their account is reported in Ima no Gakko de.

[7] There are some drop-outs in the Japanese system, and an untold percentage called ochi-kubori who are promoted with their age mates even though they have not mastered the material of the previous grade-level. I devote some discussion to this latter group at the end of this chapter. On drop-outs, let me

simply observe that one is unlikely to find 24-year old primary school students as is said to be not uncommon in the U.S. according to Office of Education surveys.

[8] The figures I present in the text were suggested by Benjamin Bloom in personal conversation. There are a number of studies in this area which suggest control oriented interaction ranges from as low as 20 percent to as high as 75 percent of all teacher interaction in American primary school classrooms. See...While it is difficult to make precise cross-national comparisons with respect to this statistic, I expect the frequency of control interaction is at least twice as high in the U.S.

[9] Prime Minister's Office, Kokusai Tokei Yoran (International Statistics), 1975.

[10] Statistics are from Ministry of Education, Educational Standards in Japan, 1971.

[11] Theodore Brameld indicates that PTA positions are still avidly sought for in rural areas; see Japan, Culture, Education and Change in Two Communities, p. 108. John Singleton also comments on the centrality of the school in Nichu, especially p. 60ff. He notes that the post of PTA chairman often serves as the springboard for a political career.

[12] These impressions are confirmed by other field workers; they note that schools which offer fewer parent participation days are viewed with suspicion by parents.

[13] Herbert Passin in Society and Education in Japan describes this borrowing process. For translations of a selection of these texts, see Robert K. Hall, Shushin. Also see Chapter Two of this book.

[14] Some idea of the detail of this prescription can be gleaned from a reading of the Ministry of Education's Course of Study for Elementary Schools in Japan. The English language translation runs to 228 pages; as a random example, four full pages are devoted to describing the contents of third grade sports education. In the section on gymnastics, ten new warm-up exercises are recommended as a preliminary for teaching elementary skills in the horizontal bar, the vaulting horse, and the tumbling mat. While the introduction to the Course of Study says a "school may organize a curriculum not following the order of teaching prescribed," it is difficult to find a public school with the courage; after all, they are all heavily subsidized by the central government. On the other hand, experimentation is quite common in private schools and those "laboratory schools" affiliated to national universities.

[15] Ministry of Education, Educational Standards, 1971, p. 49.

[16]

[17] I read all the social science texts used in the Kyoto city system as this area is closest to my own academic specialty of sociology; also its cognitive content has the most direct bearing on the study. I also inspected texts in other areas, especially science.

[18] Since 1972 the dangers of pollution have been stressed in texts at the suggestion of the Ministry of Education. A striking example is the frontispiece photograph for the fourth

grade social science text; a picture with the polluted bay of Fuji City in the foreground, factories belching columns of smoke into the atmosphere in the near background, and then in the far background a hazed over glimpse of lovely Mount Fuji, Japan's paramount symbol of purity.

[19] According to Motoko Huthwaite in her An Analysis of Contemporary Children's Literature with a Focus on Values (pp. 119-120) "McClelland found that the most common themes in Japanese primary school text books were kindness and obligation. In a study of the trends in postwar moral education in Japan as reflected in the new textbooks, Fujishiro concluded that there was a de-emphasis on nationalism, a pronounced growth of concern for social and individual morality, and a shift from blind loyalty and obedience to an understanding of rules and responsibilities in a democratic society." Huthwaite, in her own thematic analysis of 20 children's books selected from a stratified sample of 500 concluded that "the most common values found in folk literature were courage, cleverness, loyalty and cultural pride. The most common values found in realistic fiction were cooperation, kindness, independence, honesty and love of nature." Hierarchical loyalty was evident in the folk literature, but it was virtually absent in fantasy and realistic literature. Indeed, "none of the sample books of realistic fiction recommended loyalty to a superior, allegiance or blind loyalty. Authority was questioned and even defied on occasion." Huthwaite concludes that hierarchical relations are much less

frequently stressed in contemporary texts than cooperative horizontal relations."

[20] I found that most Japanese teachers had an impressive knowledge of educational reforms in other places (both national and international) thanks to frequent local, area-wide and national weekend research meetings, weekly in-school pedagogy workshops, and Sunday morning television series by both public and commercial networks on themes such as "education around the world" and "our schools."

[21] This phrase was used in the Unesco literacy campaign of the sixties.

[22] See C. E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classrooms.

[23] This cross-national observation is speculative; however, one cannot help but be impressed as one reads the American school literature with the extent to which the principals view the local school boards as their major reference group; in many cases, principals use talk of proposed "innovation" as a gimmick for impressing the school board with their leadership qualities. For one case study, see Vidich and Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society.

[24] For one survey on this theme, see Chapters 5 and 6 of Dan C. Lortie, School Teacher: A Sociological Study, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975.

[25] The resistance to testing gained momentun after the early sixties when the Ministry of Education attempted to introduce a national achievement test for the purpose of evaluating school and teacher performance. Resistance is

especially strong in the Kansai area where I located my study, and more generally wherever the teacher's union is firmly entrenched.

[26] For evidence of the narrow range of achievement, see Chapter six.

[28] Western observers often see in school uniforms some lingering sign of indentification with an earlier militaristic and authoritarian era. Indeed, it was for this reason that the American occupation removed the formal requirement that school children wear uniforms. To the occupation's surprise parents' associations at many schools, especially at the middle school level, decided of their own will to have children wear uniforms. Their reasons were: (1) children of this age level grew so fast that it was cheaper to clothe them in standardized uniforms than in commercial clothing; (2) as all uniforms looked alike, status competition based on stylish clothing could be avoided and thus no child need be embarrassed by his(her) inability to buy the latest; (3) finally, many parents thinking of their own school days, wanted for nostalgic reasons to have their children wear uniforms.

[29] I could not help but wondering as I watched these sports clubs why more of the energy of American junior high students, especially the girls, could not be channeled into such activities. James Coleman has observed how the athletic teams of American schools become the focal point of adolescent society, and in his view this leads to a misdirection of youthful energy. He argues this occurs because the teams of American schools are promoted by school officials as a symbol of school pride. Coleman laments the fact that the championing of athletics diverts attention from studying which in his opinion is what students ought to be immersed in; why, he asks, should the "brains" become a minority group. Japanese schools de-emphasize inter-school competition, especially in athletics. Thus sports does not become so professionalized and most students join in the club system. The widely recognized importance of the exam system, on the other hand, prevents discrimination against "brains." A more equal balance is achieved between study and sports. See Coleman, The Adolescent Society.

[30] The democratic pattern of management of Japanese schools provides an interesting contrast to America's more bureaucratic style. For a discussion of the evolution of the American system, see Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools.

CHAPTER SIX

COGNITIVE EQUALITY

How often do we hear an American inner-city school described as a zoo or a jungle. Veteran teachers expect the worst from their students and readily resort to punitive measure to maintain control over their classrooms. These teachers show surprise when a "poor" student answers correctly but are unmoved when a "good" student does the same. Racial labels also shape interaction. Charles E. Silberman in Crisis in the Classrooms reports the following incident from the sixth-grade racially mixed classroom:

> A black girl calls out the answer to a question the teacher had asked of the entire class. "Don't you call out," the teacher responds. "You sit where I put you and be quiet." A few minutes later, when a blond-haired, blue-eyed girl call out an answer to another question, the teacher responds, "Very good, Annette; that's good thinking."[1]

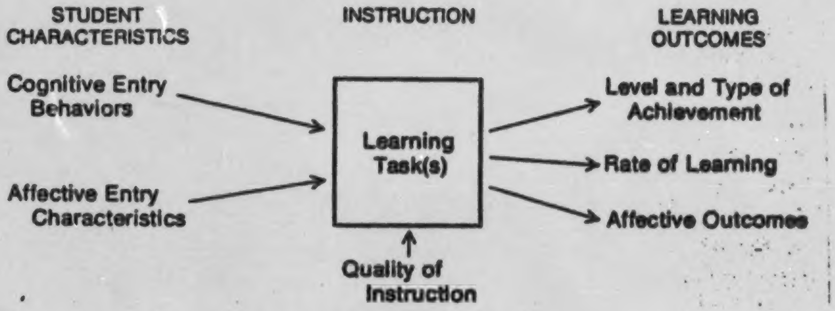
A shocking proportion of the graduates of our urban schools lack even a minimal command of the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetics. The tendencies towards school disorder, presumptions about the innate ability of individual students, favoritism, and low achievement do not characterize all of America's schools. Yet they are sufficiently common to attract the attention of a number of today's school critics.

I found little evidence of these tendencies in my observation of Japanese schools. Japanese teachers maintained orderly classrooms, they equally distributed rewards of praise and recognition, and they worked as best they could to help all the students complete the curriculum. As I was thinking about these differences in classroom behavior, I came upon the theory of mastery learning. This theory presents a framework for analysing the process of learning that seems particularly appropriate for highlighting several of the distinctive features of Japanese education. Of special interest, the theory helps in explaining why Japanese school children do so well in mastering their curriculum. Hence, in this chapter I would like to recast several of my observations within this framework.

The Theory of Mastery Learning

The most lucid exposition of mastery learning is found in Benjamin Bloom's *Human Characteristics and School Learning*. In the preface, Bloom states the central thesis of mastery learning: "most students can learn what the schools have to teach--if the problem is approached sensitively and systematically."[2] To anyone who has studied processes of transformation in a factory or an office, this proposition does not seem especially controversial. Factories have techniques for fully transforming their raw materials into products of uniform high quality. Properly managed offices complete most of their forms. Why is it that only the schools are slipshod in their transformative goal of conveying the fully curriculum to their students? The theory, through focusing on the major variables affecting school learning that are pictured in Figure 6.1, attempts to answer this question.

Figure 6.1. Major Variables in the Theory of School Learning


STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS
INSTRUCTION
LEARNING OUTCOMES
Cognitive Entry Behaviors
Affective Entry Characteristics
Learning Task(s)
Quality of Instruction
Level and Type of Achievement
Rate of Learning
Affective Outcomes

Instruction. The theory of mastery learning does not advocate a special curriculum, but it does have some definite implications for the organization of the curriculum. Bloom observes that it is difficult to learn if the learning objectives are not clear. Thus, he proposes a curriculum broken down into simple learning tasks.

The basic principles of instruction conducive to mastery learning are straightforward:

(1) create a purposeful instructional atmosphere where frivolous distractions are minimized

(2) explain to students the tasks they will be expected to master

(3) encourage students to participate in the process of learning

(4) reward students for their achievements

(5) continuously check on the progress of students by relying on institutionalized feedback procedures; when students fail to master particular tasks provide some means (by the teacher, a teacher's aid, student coaches, external tutors, or parents) for remedial learning.

The theory, however, does not view these as sufficient to guarantee the expected outcomes. The techniques have to be combined with attention to the entry characteristics of learners.

Entry characteristics. The mastery learning theory makes two simple but revolutionary assumptions about entry characteristics. First, it assumes that each learner has a personal learning history that has elevated him to a certain level of motivation and learning. It assumes that further individual development must proceed from this level--attempts to teach ahead of an individual's achievement level will be inefficient at best; more likely they will be fruitless. This assumption has different implications for individual and group learning situations. In the individual case, the instruction merely requires adjustment to the individual's level. In the group case, the instruction must handle students at different entry levels. A number of alternate responses are possible here: Individual instruction can be attempted; students can be broken into groups of different levels for separate programs; or all can be kept in a common group. Given the circumstances of a typical school, only the latter is really feasible. Hence, the most effective instruction first raises all students to a common level of achievement and then moves them through progressively more advanced levels together. Behind this recommendation is the second major assumption of mastery learning; modifications are possible in the entry characteristics of individuals. Bloom suggests that it may take some time to bring those students who begin with inferior entry characteristics up to the common level, and that during this period the better prepared students may not learn much. However, once the slow students are brought up to the common level they will be able to learn further material at virtually the same rate as their classmates.

Bloom notes how conventional teaching starts with a group of students who differ in their base level of cognitive entry behaviors. Due to differences in this entry characteristic, students differ in their level and rate of learning: those with higher entry learning levels progress at a faster rate, while the poorly prepared are soon hopelessly behind, and cease to learn anything other than frustration. One consequence of different entry characteristics is a distribution of learning for a particular task that closely matches the distribution of entry behavior. A second is a reduced motivation for learning among the slower students. Thus, in a larger number of independently conceived studies, it is typically found that entry level explains roughly half the variation in learning of a given task. The cognitive inequality that emerges from normal educational conditions can largely be explained by the inequal entry characteristics.

Graphically the conventional scenario can be pictured as follows (Figure 6.2). After learning task one of the students will have an average level of t_o on some standardized test and a bell-shaped distribution of scores around that mean which have a standard deviation of t_o'. After learning task two, the mean goes up to $t_o + x$ and the standard deviation becomes larger. After task three, these tendencies are further accentuated.

Figure 6.2. Theoretical Achievement Distributions Where Inadequate Learning Is Not Corrected at the End of Each Learning Task

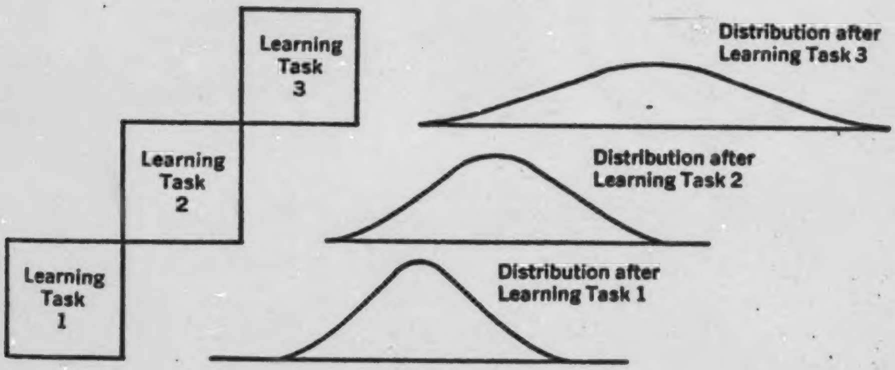
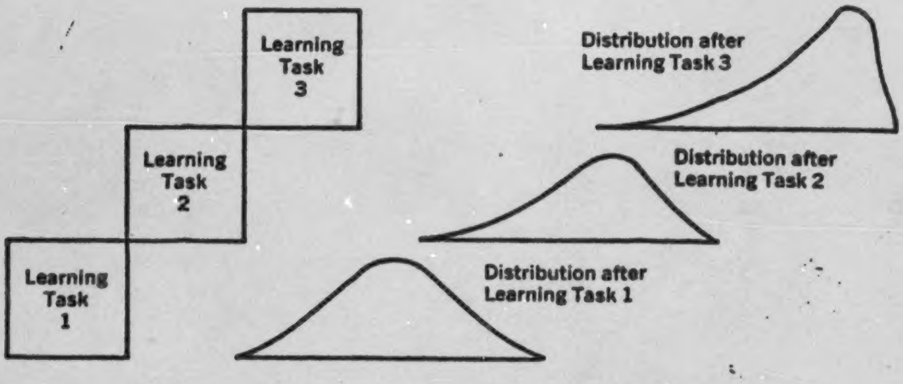

Learning Task 3
Distribution after Learning Task 3
Learning Task 2
Distribution after Learning Task 2
Learning Task 1
Distribution after Learning Task 1

Figure 6.3. Theoretical Achievement Distributions Where Inadequate Learning over the Previous Learning Tasks Has Been Corrected


Learning Task 3
Distribution after Learning Task 3
Learning Task 2
Distribution after Learning Task 2
Learning Task 1
Distribution after Learning Task 1

Figures from Benjamin Bloom, Human Characteristics and School Learning, pp. 35, 36.

In contrast with the conventional approach, Bloom proposes a scenario where cognitive entry characteristics are equal. Under these conditions, perhaps half the students will learn the task and half fail. However, if following the initial instruction, each student's progress is reviewed and those who do not understand are given special tutoring, then all can learn the task. To the extent all learn the initial task, they will again be equal when they approach the next task, and so on. The end result will be that all master the full range of material and no cognitive inequality results. Entry characteristics will fail to predict cognitive achievement because at neither stage will there be variation. In the studies where mastery learning has been employed and individual mastery of each task in the overall sequence is checked, these ideal outcomes are approximated. The relation between entry characteristics and cognitive achievement is roughly half of what it would be with normal techniques; cognitive inequality is significantly reduced.

A more realistic scenario would begin with an entering group at grade one whose distribution of scores on a standardized tests resembles the bottom graph of Figure 6.2. However, with the application of mastery learning techniques, growing proportions of the members of this class would gradually achieve mastery over the cognitive material. Thus, as pictured in Figure 6.3, their distributions of scores would gradually bunch towards the mean with some skewness towards the positive side.

Individual "affective characteristics" are known to have an important bearing on success in conventional learning situations. Drawing on data from the recent International Educational Association surveys of scholastic achievement, Bloom shows how a student's liking for a subject is strongly correlated with his progress in that subject. Moreover, a student's affect towards schooling in general also is associated with achievement. Finally, under normal teaching circumstances, an individual's "academic self-concept" is strongly associated with academic achievement, especially after the early years of primary education. Conversely, the level of an individual's motivation tends to be influenced by performance in school: Those who do well in school relative to their peers like learning whereas those who do poorly develop negative attitudes. Under normal teaching circumstances this vicious circle cannot be broken. However, in several cases where mastery learning techniques were used, there was a virtual abcence of negative feelings towards learning. This was due to mastery learning's emphasis on having all students master each task and the provision of obvious rewards for success.

Mastery Learning in Japan

Mastery Learning as such has not been introduced in Japan. On the other hand, traditional Japanese educational philosophy shares many precepts with mastery learning. Japanese educators have never paid much attention to the innate abilities of learners. They have tended to assume that anybody can learn a task given a determined effort. Mind over matter is an assumption of Japanese learning in settings as diverse as the modern classroom and the traditional dojo where kendo, judo, and other martial arts are taught.

It is no accident that Japan's Nineteenth Century educators, after reviewing various foreign theories of pedagogy expressed their greatest interest in the ideas of Pestalozzi and Herbart, two thinkers whom Bloom credits with laying the intellectual foundations of Mastery Learning theory.[3] In the postwar period, Japan's educators have expressed strong interest in Dewey and in the Russian pedagogist, Markarenko--both of whom emphasized educational goals similar to Mastery Learning.

Age-grading, the cultural norm of linking specific events in the cycle of social maturation with stages in biological growth, has a strong influence on Japanese social structure. When the modern school was organized, the official regulations specified the age when children should attend school. It gradually became understood that the schools should graduate their charges within the prescribed number of years, regardless of the level of each individual's achievement; failing a student or otherwise delaying his progress became socially unacceptable. Schools that failed students developed bad reputations, and students that were failed by their schools bore a stigma. To avoid these outcomes and, at the same time, to protect a reputation for quality education, schools have come under increasing pressure to carry out a program of education that will reach all of their students.

These several external constraints then help us to understand why Japanese schools might be concerned with achieving the types of outcomes expected of mastery learning. However, they do not guarantee an identical set of techniques. What, then, can we say, based on our field work, about the similarities and differences between Mastery Learning and Japanese schooling.

1. Entry Characteristics--clearly one of the most impressive characteristics of Japanese schooling is the care with which students are eased into the school routine. New students are treated to a series of ceremonies - beginning with a health check-up and some preliminary interviews, then an entrance ceremony, and finally a classroom welcoming ceremony--in order to facilitate their adjustment to school. Moreover, during the first ten days of school, new students attend no more than two to three hours each day so as to ease their transition from home to school. After the initial period, first year students eat lunch at school two times a week while returning home on the remaining days. Only after they reach the third grade are they considered strong enough to do schoolwork every afternoon.

During the initial month of the first grade, relatively little attention is devoted to academic matters. The major goal is to get students interested in school and their classmates. Teachers rely extensively on games, art work, singing and other play-like activities to develop a cheerful classroom atmosphere. At the school where we concentrated our field work, we found that much of the time of first-graders was spent practicing a skit for the school arts day (gakugeikai). During this initial frivolous period, teachers attempt to bring the poorly prepared students (in, for example, the ability to write letters and numbers) up to the level of the rest.

While these procedures to level differences in entry characteristics are impressive, we should also observe that student variation in entry characteristics may not be as great as in many other advanced societies. The Japanese people are racially homogenous, and today most enjoy a reasonable standard of living. Relatively few Japanese children come from broken homes or from isolated rural areas such as the Ozarks. Well over three-fourths of all children attend at least one year of kindergarten before starting the first grade. The combination of the relatively undifferentiated cohort of students and the standard initiation to the schooling program result in favorable entry characteristics for school learning.

2. Creating a Purposeful Learning Environment. Classroom atmosphere is the first topic in Bloom's discussion of the quality of instruction. Much of the research on conventional classrooms indicates that teachers devote an extraordinarily high percentage of their time to managing students at the expense of time that might be devoted to managing their learning. Disorder in the classroom stands in the way of academic progress. Every minute devoted to the establishment of order is a minute lost from instruction. If, as some studies of American classrooms indicate, 40 percent of instructional time is devoted to order, the loss is enormous. It is likely that the slow students, who require detailed instruction to master a task, suffer disproportionately from this time loss.

In Japanese classrooms which typically have 40 students and a single teacher we found that the problem of maintaining order was vigorously attacked from the first day of school. As a result, by the end of the first year of primary school no more than 20 percent of classroom time (closer to 10 percent in the classrooms of experienced teachers) was devoted to managing students. The classroom, during the time of instruction, became a remarkably orderly and purposeful environment for learning.

3. Participation and Reinforcement. Another feature that stands out in the Japanese classroom is the extraordinary level of individual participation--especially in the early primary years. As we noted, teachers tended to hold the ideal of eliciting at least one act of participation from each student each hour. In the most extreme case I witnessed, one sixth grade teacher achieved 84 individual acts of student participation in the space of a 45 minute arithmetic class. The more typical experience was for a teacher to get through about two-thirds of the class in a single period; in the next period, the teacher would pick up with the next student in line.

Teachers varied their strategies for eliciting participation, but generally they tried to manage it in a way which would not embarass those who participated. Whether through relying on a prescribed sequence for calling on students or through managing the difficulty of the questions tossed out, teachers generally tried to give individual students a reasonable opportunity for successful participation. The goal seemed to be to encourage participation with the hope that each act would be rewarded and thus to build up each participant's "academic self-concept."

Teachers were also generous in the rewards they handed out for written assignments and in-class projects. Their red pencil generously filled each student's notebook with a flow of circles for correct work.

As an additional method for enhancing participation, Japanese teachers broke their classrooms up into several small groups, each with from four to six students. Frequently during each school day, the teachers turned assignments over to the groups so each member could solve his problem and then check the results with other members. Sometimes the groups were given a problem for which they were asked to reach a collective solution. These procedures enabled all of the members of the class to be involved simultaneously in intellectual work. What seems most important is that each group was assigned the identical problem--or a problem of comparable difficulty. In establishing these groups, the Japanese teacher attempted to balance each group's composition with individual of varied ability. Teachers were resolutely opposed to tracking, that is, the establishment of separate groups for individuals with different levels of ability. They recognized that the establishment of tracking would serve to aggravate inequalities in individual achievement and thereby make it difficult to carry out an orderly program of instruction for the entire class.

4. Feedback and Tutoring. Of course, the large number of students in each classroom in Japan places severe restraints

on the frequency with which teachers can check the work of students and provide appropriate rewards and/or remedial instruction. Every strategy I observed had its advantages and weaknesses.

Perhaps the most commonly used technique was for the teacher to deliver a short talk on a new idea and then assign a set of problems at the beginning of the period. As soon as a student completed the assignment, he was to race to the front of the classroom and stand in line besides the teacher's desk to have the work reviewed. When this procedure was used, teachers would often ask the quickest students to help those who seemed slow. In this way, the procedure included both a teaching and tutorial mechanism. The main drawback in this approach was that a classroom tended to break down into a state of near bedlam towards the end of the period with loud conversations, some running, and other rowdiness. The teacher, glued to her desk in order to correct the incoming flow of problems, usually found it impossible to control the class.

In a second strategy students would stay at their desks while the teacher walked around the classroom. This technique was more successful in maintaining order, but it reduced the number of student exercises the teacher could review. On the other hand, it provided the teacher with the opportunity to directly approach those students who were most likely to be in need of help. Through checking with the students, the teacher could readily determine the extent to which the lesson was understood by all.

Two other approaches are somewhat less frequently resorted to by teachers: correcting student exercises at home in the evening and holding special remedial classes after school for slow students. Traditionally Japanese teachers were known for the extraordinary extent to which they took on those extra activities. But today's teachers are more restrained; their legalistic excuse for avoiding these extra duties is that they would be working more hours than they are paid for. However, other considerations are also important. Compared with 30 years ago, actual classroom time had increased by 10 percent, and the amount of material to be covered in a year has increased even more. To provide quality instruction, teachers feel they need to set aside more time for preparation. To find this time, many cut back on the traditional tutorial and feedback activities. In this respect then the Japanese school has actually departed somewhat from the mastery learning ideal. The procedures for systematic feedback and remedial instruction are possibly inferior to those of the past.

5. The demanding curriculum. While Japanese teachers develop their own teaching routines, they must work with a fixed curriculum. The central Ministry of Education has developed an official course of Instruction which it uses to evaluate and approve texts for classroom use. Local governments have the option to choose from among these texts, and in so doing they seek the advice of their teachers. Unfortunately, most teachers find all the available texts to be poorly organized and overly demanding. In their view the responsibility lies

with the central government. Twice during the postwar period the central government has revised the Course of Study, and each time it has increased the amount of material that young people have to learn. An illustration of some of the changes brought about by the most recent reforms in arithmetic is reported in Table 6.1. In language, the number of characters first graders were required to memorize was upped from 46 to 70; the second grade total was increased from 150 to 221; and so on.

Teachers complain that the curriculum by 1958 already was too long. With the new speed-up, even more students are destined to be left behind. Their criticisms are based on their classroom experience where they find that many students cannot grasp essentials in the time allowed teachers to convey them and still complete the text.

Some teachers also question the organization of the Course of Study, in particular its underlying theory of instruction. In their reflections, these teachers illustrate a concern for a curriculum organized around learning tasks that are arranged in logical sequences. They ask, for example, why the character for forest (*hayashi* 林) composed of two tree ideographs should be taught before the basic character for tree (*ki* 木). And they ask what sense it makes to start on division before complex multiplication when the latter skills are basic to the former. Teachers report numerous flaws of this nature in the Course of Study, which becomes the guide for the creation of individual texts.[4]

In recent years, teachers have established their own working groups to develop new principles for the organization

TABLE 6.1

ASPECTS OF THE TYPICAL FOURTH GRADE ARITHMETIC TEXTS

	1958 Course of Study	1970 Course of Study	An American Commercial Text
Number of teaching units (chapters)	17	25	13
Pages in Text	260	254	410
Pages devoted to Multiplication	52	8	64
Typical Multiplication Problem	64x58	3547x4398	807x98
Typical Division Problem	8742-6	24702-537	4192÷90
Largest Number Explained	10,000	100,000,000	10 thousand
Largest Number in a Problem	34567+ 17506	5000 million - 10,000 (to do in one's head, without pencil or paper)	8,424,826÷ 2,937,939
Fractions	$\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ (Which is larger)	Addition and Subtraction of fractions	Addition and Subtraction of Fractions
Geometry	Draw triangles, quadralaterals	Draw, compute, perimeter, diagonal, surface of triangles, quadralaterals	Same as Japan 1970

Source: Motofumi Makieda, Nikonno Kyoshitachi (Japanese Teachers) Sanshodo, 1975, p. 214; the American text is Holt School Mathematics, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc. 1974.

of the curriculum. One of the best known groups, located in an isolated section of Kyoto prefecture, has taken the first step towards a plan of organization similar to what Mastery Learning prescribes.[5]

A major concern of this group is to develop some new way of assigning grades to individual students. They feel it is unfair to grade students on their absolute level of performance, for this discriminates against the students who start out at a lower level. Through identifying learning units, the researchers feel they will be in a better position to identify each student's starting point. Then they can measure individual progress relative to this starting point, and use relative progress as a basis for grades.

The resemblance of this experimental work to the mastery learning emphasis on individual mastery of clearly defined learning tasks is obvious. While the research we have described is in its infancy, it has caught the imagination of a large number of teachers across Japan. Clearly this experimental work reflects a sentiment among teachers to approach the curriculum in a new way not unlike mastery learning. However, this sentiment has not yet been translated into practice on a very wide scale.

6. Conventional Methods after the Primary School. We should emphasize that the generalizations we have developed apply mainly to the primary school. Our observations of the middle school suggest that teachers gradually shift away from mastery learning principles. While all students attend middle

schools and study a common course, they receive their instruction from subject-specialists. Compared to the primary school teachers, the middle school teachers seem most concerned with covering all the material in the texts during classroom hours. They believe they will be held responsible if any material not covered is subsequently tested for in high school. Due to the emphasis on the text, middle school teachers show less interest in how much individual students master. Students are advised to seek help at home in mastering the material not learned in school. Despite this admonition, we would expect incomplete mastery and, hence, declining learning rates among many middle school students.

7. The Broader Context of Learning. The theory of mastery learning does not take up several aspects of the broader context of learning that may have some bearing on cognitive euality--at least if the concern is with the distribution of cognitive scores for social units larger than classrooms. In that most of the data available to us is based on national rather than classroom samples, we would like to note several ways in which the broader context affects cognitive equality.

a. A single nationwide educational standard. If students are taught different materials, it is unlikely they will know the same things and thus perform equivalently on tests of cognitive achievement. In some of the advanced societies, a decentralized system of school control and a reliance on the unregulated free market for the development and sale of school texts results in wide variation in the cognitive materials to which students are exposed. In contrast, as we have already indicated, the texts used throughout Japan are prepared so as to convey the learning tasks prescribed by the Ministry of Education's official Course of Study. As a result, children are exposed to virtually identical cognitive material regardless of the school attended. The uniform educational standard continues through the ninth grade with only modest tolerance for adjustments to special local circumstances. It is not until the high school evel that students begin to choose between different courses and lectures, and even at this level their options are constrained within national guidelines.

b. equal educational facilities. Recent empirical research indicates that, at least in the advanced societies, the quality of school buildings, educational technology, and other facilities have a modest influence on student achievement when compared with variables such as family background and teacher quality. However, these studies suggest that facilities do make some difference, especially for slow learners who are not easily motivated by conventional cues. In Japan, facilities are also regulated by a national standard. Today thanks to the central government's policy of equalizing local educational expenditures, expenditures per student vary no more than 25 percent between the most affluent and the least affluent prefectures; much of this variation is explained by differences in the cost of living.[6] Within most prefectures, differences in per-student expenditures for schools with a common objective are also quite small. The central government has developed special programs to cover the extra costs of education in such outlying areas as island and mountain districts. These include salary incentive schemes to attract qualified teachers. Also, the central government provides special subsidies for those schools located in the special neighborhoods where Japan's outcastes (burakumin) are concentrated. As a result of measures such as these, there is little variation in the quality of facilities between schools and regions. The recent IEA study of science achievement reported that in the Japanese case, due to lack of variation, the several measures of school facilities had no relation to science achievement.

c. training and experience of teachers. Despite individual aptitude for teaching, teachers still require time and experience to reach their maximum level of effectiveness. In Japan as elsewhere, new teachers are continually being recruited and older ones are retiring so that at any given time there are large numbers of teachers who are not performing at their peak. However, in contrast with certain other advanced societies, teaching in Japan is a respected occupation that provides a decent income. Moreover, Japanese teachers along with most other workers of the modern sector, enjoy permanent employment; once hired, they are unlikely to be relieved from their duties except under the most extraordinary circumstances, such as moral turpitude. In the case where a local area experiences severe depopulation, the local government will take steps to find jobs for unneeded teachers in a nearby area.

Due to these relatively favorable employment conditions, the Japanese school systems recruit qualified people. According to the recent IEA Science Achievement survey, 95 percent of the Japanese middle school teachers in charge of science courses had a university education, the highest percentage among the 18 countries participating in the survey. Ninety percent of the teachers were male, second only to India with 91 percent. Most Japanese teachers come to look on their work as a lifetime career; even among women, the tendency is to continue teaching during marriage and child-rearing. Thus, in the IEA survey, only 11 percent of the Japanese teachers were 27 years or younger; in other advanced societies, the proportion of young and hence presumably inexperienced teachers tended to be higher: 28 percent for the U.S., 16 percent for Scotland, 23 percent for Hungary, 32 percent for England, and 50 percent for Australia.[7] Finally the survey provided some indication that Japanese teachers approach their work in a more "professional" way: 74 percent reported that they belonged to some kind of teacher membership association where they discussed teaching procedures with colleagues. In no other society was such a large proportion of teachers involved in these associations.

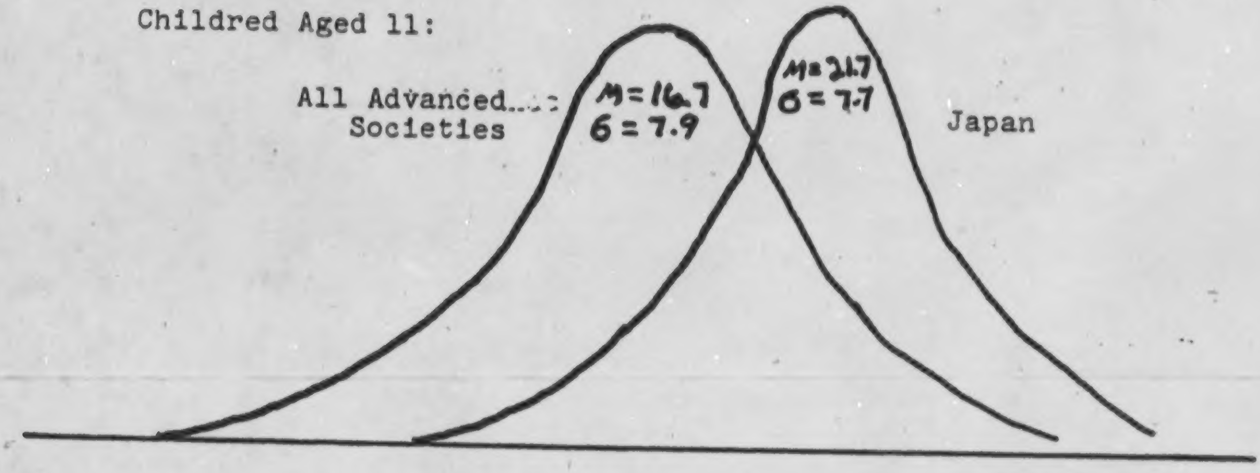
Japan's Equal Educational Outcomes

Our selected review of Japan's educational system has identified many features that resemble those advocated in the theory of mastery learning: a concern with simplifying learning tasks, an effort to smooth out differences in the entry characteristics of students, the implementation of procedures to insure a purposeful classroom atmosphere, the maximization of individual participation in the classroom, and the generous allocation of rewards to students. In addition, Japanese teachers who are, comparatively speaking, well qualified and experienced, hold "bullish" beliefs about the learning potential of all students. They are not impressed by the scientific evidence that suggests hereditary achievement is genetically determined. Instead, they believe anyone can learn if he tries and is appropriately guided.

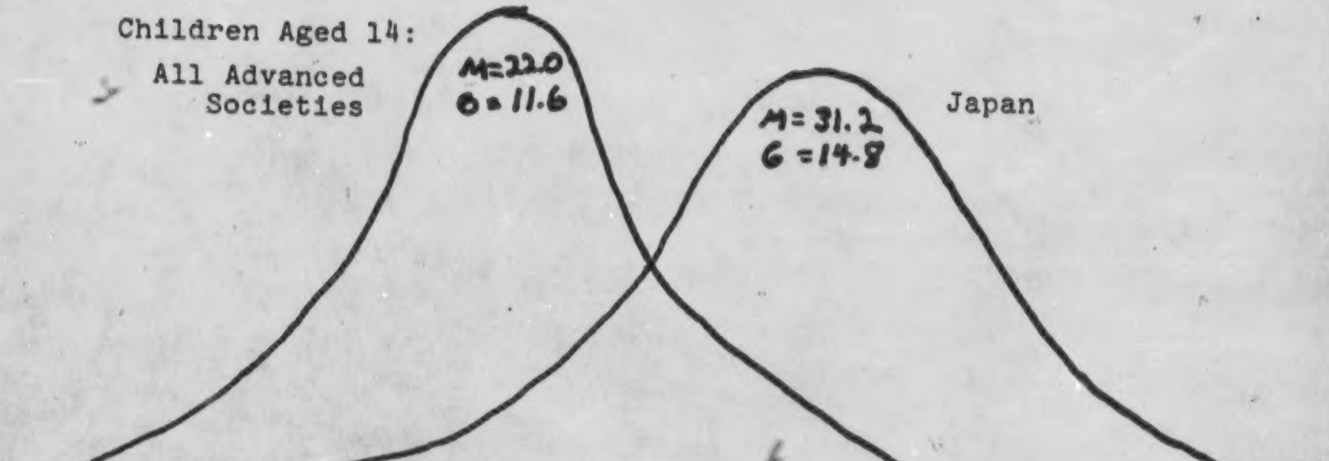
The several features of Japanese egalitarian education listed above would lead us to expect cognitive and motivational outcomes for Japanese school graduates that resemble those predicted by mastery learning: a high average level of cognitive achievement with little variation around the mean, and a high level of motivation for further learning. The IEA Science Achievement study provides strong confirmation of this expectation. The top half of Figure 6.4 provides a graphic comparison of the performance of Japanese eleven year olds and eleven year olds in ten other advanced nations on the science achievement administered by the International Educational Association. The Japanese mean is far above that for other advanced societies; the higher mean provides a statistical opportunity for the scores of Japanese children to spread over a wider range but in fact the distribution of their scores is more bunched than for the children of the remaining advanced societies. Moreover, the Japanese score high on a standardized measure of motivation to learn. The bottom half of Figure 6.4 provides a graphic

Figure 6.4. A Comparison of the Performance of Japanese School Children and the Children of All Highly Advanced Societies on the International Test of Science Achievement

Childred Aged 11:



Children Aged 14:



Source: See Appendix.

comparison for 14 year olds. Again the Japanese mean is far above the average for children in advanced societies, although in this case the distribution is relatively more dispersed. As with the younger group, Japanese youth score high on the standardized measure of motivation to learn. Much the same pattern of findings was reported in the international study of math achievement conducted in the early sixties. A more detailed report of the available comparative evidence, presented in the appendix to this chapter, provides an even clearer indication of the distinctiveness of the Japanese school's cognitive outcomes. In no other society are the schools able to promote such a large proportion of their pupils to the high level of mastery found in Japan.

A Thesis on Japan's Cognitive Inequality

Thus far our attention has been directed to explaining Japan's cognitive equality, the exceptional average level and the modest dispersion around this mean on internationally administered tests. This cognitive equality is especially notable at the primary level, but even at the middle school level Japan compares favorably to the other advanced societies. Still, all Japanese young people do not perform equally on these tests. It is the differences in performance that are more salient from the local point of view.

What explains the differences in the cognitive achievements of Japanese young people? A mechanical answer would point to the same variables that are known to be important in other advanced societies: firstly, there are the attributes of favorable home circumstances including educated parents, books in the home, a small family size, and a special room for study. Secondly, there is the opportunity to go to a superior school where the facilities are outstanding and the teachers highly qualified. And finally, the individual's interest in learning is known to be important. Most of these factors can be shown to have some relation to the differential performance of Japanese young people on cognitive achievement tests, and in that sense are important.[8] However, they do not highlight the special aspects of the Japanese situation.

Among these variables, those in the home circumstances group deserve more careful consideration. As we have indicated in Chapter Four, there is relatively little variation in Japan in those aspects of home circumstances which are likely to have a direct effect on the cognitive development of young people. There are no outstanding class differences in family structure, or child-rearing practices, and compared to the other advanced societies Japanese families have less variation in level of parental education and number of children and several other home circumstance variable. These considerations lead to the expectation that the home is relatively less influential on preschool development in the Japanese case. In fact, several studies report no correlation between indicators of home circumstance and the school performance of Japanese first year primary school students. One of the most interesting is a comparative study carried out by Robert Hess and Hiroshi Azumi.[9] Appreciative of Japan's complex class system, Hess and Azumi anticipated a stronger class impact in Japan than in the U.S. and, in that American studies have shown some association between maternal verbalization and cognitive development, higher average cognitive levels in the U.S. In both respects, the findings were the exact opposite of their expectations: No class effect was found in Japan, while Japanese cognitive levels were higher. However, as Japanese young people advance in their school careers, home circumstance variables become more predictive of differential performance. Nakano, inspired by Bernstein's hypothesis of class-differentiated linquistic capabilities, investigated the language behavior or several small samples of fifth graders.[10] She found little difference in the language patterns that students of different classes selected for their conversational behavior. On the other hand, when writing essays, children from new middle class families tended to organize their thoughts with a more complicated logic and to express their thoughts with a more complicated sentence structure. Underlying these differences, she suggests, is class variation in basic intellectual ability rather than the qualitative difference in linquistic codes found by Bernstein in the U.K. The Japanese data from the IEA study also shows a significant class effect for fifth graders and for eighth graders. Other studies show significant class effects for high schoolers. Somehow, between the first and fifth grade, families begin to differentially affect the cognitive development of their children.

Over these early school years, it is doubtful that differential material circumstances are the main explanatory factor. Children obtain their texts and most of the other materials they need from school. For the type and amount of homework assigned primary students, it is doubtful that an individual study room, encyclopedias, or other favorable home circumstances would have much bearing on individual growth. We suspect that the major differentiating factor in these early years is the quality of instructional aid that children receive at home as they review each day's lessons.

In our survey of the Japanese primary school's egalitarian education, we identified two key problems: the curriculum includes too much and instruction lacks systematic methods for feedback and remedial instruction. In the early years, when the curriculum is not demanding, these problems are not so serious. Beginning in grade four, however, they become more prominent. Those children who neither learn the lesson at school nor receive help at home are destined to fall behind. On the average, primary school students report spending seven hours each week on homework and review; interestingly, the poorer students spend relatively more time at home study.[11] Thus, normal progress may depend not on the time spent in review but rather on the efficiency with which that time is used. By the latter years of the primary school a well-educated mother who is concerned with her child's school performance proves an indispensible aid in the daily study routine. As such mothers are most common in middle and upper class families, it is not surprising that class begins to have a stronger relation to cognitive achievement.

However, as young people move beyond the primary school level, the curriculum becomes so difficult that most mothers find they are no longer able to provide direct assistance to their children. As the mothers' abilities become strained, many begin to send their children to special _juku_ where guidance is provided by professional teachers. In some case, families hire a special tutor to provide instruction at home. Needless to say, the higher a family's class position, the more resources it is likely to be able to spend on these instructional aids. Thus we can see how, in Japan, after the early years of primary school, class position comes to be related to cognitive achievement.

Still it should be noted that class has a somewhat weaker association in Japan than in several other advanced societies. Table 6.2 presents some evidence on this point.

In contrast with class, Table 6.2 shows for Japan that the motivation variables have a relatively strong association with cognitive achievement. In that upper and middle class parents show a greater interest in the school performance of their children,[12] one might think that motivation would be strongly associated with the class variables. However, in Japan it turns out that class variables explain less than five percent of the variance in student motivation. Possibly, the concern of many parents is counter-productive. The Fukayas, who studied several hundred families found that children become noticeably cool to parental attempts to motivate achievement as they move into the latter years of primary school. Some

TABLE 6.2

PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS OF SCIENCE ACHIEVEMENT SCORES WITH STATUS VARIABLES AND MOTIVATION VARIABLES FOR SEVERAL ADVANCED SOCIETIES

Fifth Grade Primary School Students:	Japan	England	FRG	Netherlands	Scotland	Sweden	USA
Status Variables							
Father's Occupation	28 (4th)	38	20	26	39	24	39
Home Circumstances	33 (4th)	41	20	30	42	27	40
Books in Home	29 (4th)	33	22	23	37	24	30
Motivation Variables							
Like School	15 (1st)	12	03	08	06	04	04
Hours Reading for Pleasure	24 (3rd)	35	20	21	37	15	23
Second Year Middle School Students:							
Status Variables							
Mother's Education	21 (2nd)	20	13	12	19	17	25
Father's Occupation	24 (5th)	34	19	25	39	23	31
Home Circumstances	38 (4th)	45	31	27	48	28	41
Books in Home	32 (3rd)	34	22	12	36	20	25
Motivation Variables							
Like School	20 (2nd)	19	13	03	23	20	13
Science Interest	49 (1st)	39	27	26	42	35	35
Expected Education	47 (1st)	45	31	40	46	31	28
Hours Reading for Pleasure	23 (3rd)	26	11	07	28	05	20

Source: Comber and Keeves, Science Education in Nineteen Countries, 1973.

children manipulate parental zeal. Befu relates how children extort the best room in the house, expensive cakes and cookies for study breaks, and other privileges from their anxious parents.[13] While zealous parents tend to be generally successful in motivating their children, some fail abysmally and push their children into the growing ranks of the "hate-schoolers." Partly for this reason and partly because of egalitarian education's concern with developing strong motivation in all students, most studies of general student populations in Japan indicate only modest correlations between class background and motivation to learn.

If class does not fully explain motivational differentiation, what else does? Earlier we observed that Japan's egalitarian education is most characteristic of the primary school. From the latter years of the primary school and especially after the beginning of middle school, teachers anxious to cover the demanding curriculum adopt more conventional teaching methods and devote less attention to individual student mastery of the subject matter. Due to this shift, many students begin to fall behind. In terms of cognitive achievement tests, we would expect the distribution of scores for Japanese middle school students to become more dispersed and somewhat negatively skewed - an expectation confirmed by the IEA science achievement tests (see Figure 6.4). With the shift to conventional methods, Japanese middle school teachers become more severe and judicious in rewarding student performance. Differential grading results in differential motivation for learning and, hence, achievement. This process may transpire completely independently of any class effect.

These observations suggest the thesis that the most important factor influencing motivational differentiation is performance in school, and performance in turn promotes motivation. The strong association between these two variables is only modestly reduced after controlling for the influence of other factors. A major source of cognitive inequality, then, stems from what goes on in the school, rather than what impinges from without.

Achievement Tests, Grades, and Entrance Exams

Our discussion thus far has focused on individual performance on achievement tests, but these tests are not what Japanese schools use to measure a student's progress. From month to month, Japanese schools evaluate students on the basis of grades. For the transition between educational levels, entrance exams are relied on.

Grades are usually administered along a five-point scale with roughly half going to the average mark of 3, 20 percent to 2 and to 4 respectively, and the remaining 10 percent divided between 1 and 5. Teachers report that grading is one of their most difficult tasks, perhaps because of the narrow range in actual achievement. In any case, the grades that teachers do assign have a reasonably strong association with test scores. The best evidence of this comes from the series of studies on the correlates of educational performance and cognitive achievement among middle schoolers in ten local areas conducted in 1965 by the National Institute of Education. Two of these local studies report correlations between grades and a battery of four achievement tests.[14] The correlations range between .57 and .72; comparable American studies report slightly lower correlations.[15]

While grades are given out each academic quarter, Japanese schools do not emphasize them in promoting students from one year to the next. Once a student enters a particular primary, middle, or high school, his promotion there is virtually automatic.

Of course, in the Japanese educational system, it is not this yearly progression but rather the big leap from one school level and/or institution to another that has the greatest bearing on individual success. The most important of these movements is from the high school to the university. As there is great variation among universities, ambitious high school students compete to gain entrance to one of the handful of famous institutions. Their fate in this competition is determined by their performance on the entrance exams prepared and administered by each of the universities they apply to. In addition, most students write at least two exams prior to the stage of university engrance in their attempts to gain entry into the middle and high schools of their choice. Because the alternatives at these stages are complex, we will reserve detailed discussion for Chapter eight. At this point, we will restrict our attention to the content of entrance exams and the kind of aptitudes required for passing.

At all school levels, the entrance exams are prepared by the institutions receiving new students. These exams are invariably demanding, but in many cases it is not so obvious that they test the content of instruction in the preceding schools. Often the exams skip over ordinary problems and the most obvious facts to focus on esoteric questions. They test traits that may have little relation to cognitive abilities such as the student's willingness to spend long hours studying, his attention to detail, and his fortune in covering the tested material.[16] Most university entrance exams also strongly emphasize foreign languages, regardless of an individual's intended university specialization.

When we analyze the way young people prepare for these exams, it is obvious that they do not consider cognitive achievement a sufficient or even necessary ingredient of success. The folklore of exam preparation stresses effort; it is said that a young person who spends more than four hours sleeping each night is sure to fail. Long hours of diligent study are considered critical in covering the esoteric material covered in the exams.

Students and parents doubt that the normal school curriculum provides the best orientation to exams. Thus, they put great pressure on the schools to concentrate more on exam preparation and less on "whole man" education. Throughout the nation, public middle schools and high schools curtail the extra-curricular activities of third year students to meet the task of exam preparation. Apart from going to school, preparation may take the form of attending extra-schools, known as juku and yobiko, or hiring tutors. It is quite common for a youth to spend a year or two after high school devoting full-time to exam-preparation; in recent years, roughly 40 percent of those who gain admittance to a university have spent at least one year in the ronin status of full-time study.[17] Needless to say, these special aids cost money, and thus only the more affluent and education-oriented families can avail themselves of them.[18]

In addition, to accommodate those preparing for university entrance exams, a number of famous private schools exist which devote themselves almost exclusively to this goal. Tuition at most of these schools is substantial and beyond the reach of ordinary families.

This brief review of how Japanese students prepare for exams suggests that not only effort but also strong financial backing is an important aid in passing exams. To what extent do these factors override cognitive achievement? A lack of systematic data unfortunately prevents a clear answer. However, several pieces of information suggest that cognitive achievement may be subordinate to these other factors. As we will indicate in Chapter eight, those who succeed in gaining entrance to the best high schools and universities are overwhelmingly from the upper and middle classes. An extensive government survey indicates that entrants to national universities tend to have higher high school grade point averages than those who enter public and private universities (the latter are generally lower in quality). Yet 46 percent of the national university entrants had average or below average grades.[19]

Another piece of evidence comes from a Japanese study attempting to predict the academic performance of university students from several indicators of pre-university performance. American research generally shows that high school grades are the best predictor of university performance (grade point averages), typically accounting for as much as 26 percent of the variance. In the Japanese study, high school grades accounted for only 9 percent of the variance in university performance of first-year students; by the third year grades accounted for less than four percent. What is more, no other predictor of academic ability (performance on an achievement text, entrance exam score) proved any more successful in predicting university performance.[20] It would appear that success in university entrance and university performance are only modestly associated with pre-university cognitive achievement.

The disassociation between school grades and entrance procedures has one salutary consequence deserving brief mention. Because grades do not have long run consequences for individual achievement, teachers especially at the primary level feel somewhat at ease in assigning them for reasons other than performance. While departures from strict objective grading are exceptional, a number of alternatives do exist. Many teachers say they try to give every student at least one good grade each quarter to give them something to be proud of. On the other hand, they avoid all 5's as it would make a child's head swell too big. Sometimes a teacher will pull a student along by progressively raising a grade from quarter to quarter, even if the grade is incommensurate with the level of achievement. Finally, a few teachers report that, in a fit of egalitarian rage, they dispense with grading altogether and instead give straight 3's to all their students.

Conclusion

Much of the research supporting Mastery Learning has been conducted at the classroom level. In this chapter, we have moved to the national level and asked whether the theory is useful in predicting aggregated outcomes for thousands of geographically dispersed classrooms. While the internal diversity of most nations would jeopardize the value of aggregate data, this is less of a problem in Japan, as there is a centralized education system and a unified educational tradition. As predicted by the Theory of Mastery Learning, we find that Japanese primary school students achieve exceptionally high average levels of cognitive performance as well as develop high levels of motivation for further learning. Moreover, there is relatively less variation around these means than in most other societies. These generalizations hold, though with lesser force, for Japanese students at the middle school level and, we suspect, even for those at more advanced stages as in high schools and universities. Family background appears to have only a moderate impact on cognitive achievement though its relation to entrance exam success and actual educational attainment may be more pronounced.

Japan's egalitarian schools provide society with successive cohorts of young people who, almost without exception, have a reascnable ability in cognitive tasks and a desire to exercise this ability. Traditionally, adult society was not accustomed to receiving such capable cohorts of young people. We suspect that the contemporary situation, with successive cohorts of cognitively able and motivated young people entering society, places unusual pressure on adult society. In Chapter Nine, we will explore some of the implications.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classrooms, p. 92.

[2] Benjamin Bloom. Human Characteristics and School Learning p. 21.

[3] See Herbert Passin, Society and Education in Japan, for a discussion of some of the ideas affecting the early stages in the formulation of modern Japan's educational philosophy. Also see Mombusho (Ministry of Education), Gakusei Hyakunenshi (One Hundred Year History of the Modern Educational System). For the postwar see Victor N. Kobayashi. John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought.

[4] The theme of an over-demanding curriculum has been characteristic of the progressive teacher's union throughout the postwar period. Along with Makieda, op. cit., see the official union position compiled by Umene Satoru, Nihon no Kyoiku: Doo arubeki Ka? (What should we do with Japanese Education). In contrast, some conservative critics argue that different curriculums should be developed for children at different ability levels.

[5] The information on this project was supplied to me by members of the Kyoto Prefectural Teacher's Union.

[6] See Table 3.

[7] Summarized in William K. Cummings, "The Effects of Japanese Schools."

[8] L.C. Comber and John Keeves, Science Achievement in Nineteen Countries, p. 257.

[9] These findings are in an interim report to the Toyota Foundation by Robert Hess and Hiroshi Azumi as reported to us by one of the foundation officials. Also see,

[10] Nakano Yumiko, "Kaikyu to Gengo" (Social Class and Language).

[11] In the words of Coomber and Keeves, op cit. p. 250: "help from parents even at the 10-year level is associated with remedial aid."

[12] Fukaya and Fukaya in their recent study of school children report that in the most zealous families the parents are college-educated, the father is a professional or manager with an income in excess of $6,000, there is only one child, and the mother does not work. The Fukayas asked several hundred mothers of sixth grade children just what level of school performance they hoped for. Virtually all mothers said they hoped their children would be in the top half of the class; college-educated mothers expressed a desire for their children to be in the top eight. See Masashi and Kazuko Fukaya, Gendai Kodomoron (Children Today), p. 144.

[13] Harumi Befu, Japan: An Anthropological Introduction, p.

[14] The Kobe and Miyazaki reports released in 1970 as part of the ten area survey summarized in Table A6.3.

[15] Jencks, op. cit., p. 111, footnote 7.

[16] For some informative comments on Japan's entrance exams, see Ronald Dore, "The Future of Japan's Meritocracy."

[17] Mombusho (Ministry of Education), Showa 50 nendo Hakusho: Wagakuni no Kyoiku Suijin (1975 White Paper: Educational Standards in Japan), p. 37.

[18] For example, in his study of urban family structure, Oyama reports that most families agree they should spend as much money as they can on their children's education. However, it is the white collar who stand out in terms of actual expenditures. See Oyama Ryu, Gendai Kazoku no Yakuwari Kozo (Functional Differentiation of the Contemporary Family), p. 58.

[19] Mombusho, Kotogakko Sotsugyosha no Shinro Jokyo (The Situation of High School Graduates), p. 18-19.

[20] Central Council for Education, Basic Guidelines for the Reform of Education, 1972, Technical Appendix, p. 171.

APPENDIX

In Figure 6.4 we compared the distribution of scores of Japanese school children on the I.E.A. science achievement test with the distribution for all youth in the highly advanced societies. In this appendix, we present more detailed data on Japanese test score distributions. Table A6.1 presents science achievement means and coefficients of variation, and standardized "like school" scores for each of the individual countries that participated in the science survey.

The mean scores for Japanese school children on science achievement at both the fifth grade primary and second grade middle school levels were the highest of all the nations in the study. The coefficient of variation for the primary school group was the lowest and for the middle school group the third lowest. Finally, concerning "likes school," the attitudinal variable which provides the best indication of student motivation, the Japanese score was second highest (again following Hungary which reported data for only a segment of the cohort). We might mention the Tomoda study to be reported in Chapter Seven where the mean level of occupational aspirations of Japanese high school students is higher than those of American students while, in contrast with the American pattern, in Japan no relation is found between social background and aspiration level.

Prior to the Science Achievement survey, the IEA launched a comparative study of math achievement which produced a somewhat

TABLE A6.1

MEANS AND COEFFICIENTS OF VARIATION FOR THE COUNTRY DISTRIBUTIONS OF SCORES ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENCE ACHIEVEMENT TEST

Country	Primary School Sample (about age 11)		Standardized Score on the Likes School Variable	Middle School Sample (about age 14)		Standardize Score on the Likes School Variables
	Mean	Coefficient of Variation		Mean	Coefficient of Variation	
Japan	21.7	.355	.19	31.2	.474	.20
Australia	----	---	--	24.6	.545	-.09
Belgium (Flemish)	17.9	.408	-.13	21.2	.434	.13
Belgium (French	13.9	.511	.29	15.4	.571	-.05
Chile	9.1	.945	-.16	9.2	.967	-.22
England	15.7	.541	.05	21.3	.662	.07
Federal Republic of Germany	14.9	.497	-.18	23.7	.485	-.26
Finland	17.5	.468	-.08	20.5	.517	-.16
Hungary	16.7	.479	.35	29.1	.436	.29
India	8.5	.976	-.19	7.6	1.184	-.01
Iran	4.1	1.317	.12	7.8	.782	.13
Italy	16.5	.521	.06	18.5	.551	.01
Netherlands	15.3	.497	-.19	17.8	.562	-.14
New Zealand	----	---	--	24.2	.533	.14
Scotland	14.0	.600	.05	21.4	.664	.03
Sweden	18.3	.399	-.36	21.7	.539	-.37
Thailand	9.9	.657	.23	15.6	.519	.10
U. S.	17.7	.525	.14	21.6	.537	.19

Source: L. C. Comber and John P. Keeves, Science Education in Nineteen Countries. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973, p. 159, p. 108.

similar ranking in terms of national means and coefficients of variation. Considering only the results for the tests administered to 13 year olds, Japan's mean was highest and its coefficient of variation tied for second lowest. (Table A6.2)

The Japanese youth sampled for the math study indicated a high average level of motivation towards school and towards learning math. Fortunately, intercorrelation matrices are available for each of the countries included in the math study. From these matrices we have constructed Figure A6.1. As we argued in Chapter Four, in Japan status is a relatively less important predictor of achievement and also has only a modest relation to motivation. However, the figure provides another illustration of the relatively strong association between motivation and achievement in the Japanese case.

In the preparation for our field study we asked several informants to tell us the area in Japan where egalitarian educational principles were most firmly entrenched. This led to the selection of Kyoto as the primary site for our field work. Previously in 1965, the National Institute of Education had conducted various tests of academic achievement in samples of Japanese middle schoolers in ten local areas. The means and coefficients of variation for each of these local areas is reported in Table A6.3. As can be seen, Kyoto, the reputed forerunner in egalitarian education, tends to have a high mean (highest on one, second highest on two, and third on the remaining test) and a low coefficient of variation (sedond from the

TABLE A6.2

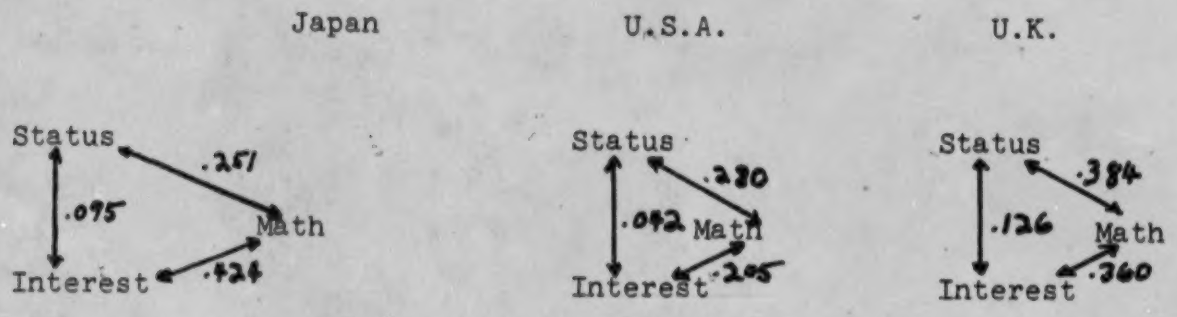
COUNTRY MEANS AND COEFFICIENTS OF VARIATION FOR THIRTEEN YEAR OLDS (Pop. 1a)

	Mean	13 Year Olds
Australia	20.2	.693
Belgium	27.7	.542
England	19.3	.881
Finland	24.1	.411
France	18.3	.678
Japan	31.2	.542
The Netherlands	23.9	.665
Scotland	19.1	.764
Sweden	15.7	.689
U.S.	16.2	.821

Source: Torstein Husen, ed. International Study of Achievement in Mathematics: A Comparison of Twelve Countries, Vol. II. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967.

Figure A6.1

INTERRELATIONS OF FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, INTEREST IN MATH, AND TOTAL MATH SCORE


Japan
Status
.251
.095
Math
Interest
.424
U.S.A.
Status
.280
.042
Math
Interest
.205
U.K.
Status
.384
.126
Math
Interest
.360

Source: International Education Association's Surveys of Mathematical Achievement for Japan, the U.S.A., and the United Kingdom.

TABLE A6.3

MEANS AND COEFFICIENTS OF VARIATIONS ON FOUR COGNITIVE ACHIEVEMENT TESTS ADMINISTERED TO SAMPLES OF NINTH GRADERS FROM TEN LOCAL AREAS IN JAPAN

	Differential Aptitude Test: Verbal Reasoning		American College Testing Program Mathematics Usage Test		Japanese Word Association and Sentence Understanding Test		Japanese Numerical Ability Test	
	Mean	C.V.	Mean	C.V.	Mean	C.V.	Mean	C.V.
Kyoto	25.6	.367	15.6	.474	26.2	.328	26.1	.414
Kobe	26.5	.328	17.5	.457	26.9	.312	25.9	.398
Tokyo	25.0	.384	15.9	.491	25.5	.345	24.6	.423
Saitama	20.6	.427	12.1	.504	22.2	.369	21.1	.460
Hyogo	23.0	.404	14.3	.497	24.0	.346	23.3	.438
Wakayama	19.8	.434	13.5	.585	22.3	.350	20.7	.435
Shiga	21.1	.431	13.4	.500	23.2	.366	22.3	.448
Kawasaki	23.0	.404	13.1	.481	23.8	.361	21.6	.463
Yokohama	22.3	.435	12.3	.512	22.8	.408	21.2	.467
Miyazaki	21.1	.403	12.9	.620	22.5	.373	19.9	.452

Source: Kokuritsu Kyoiku Kenkyusho (National Institute of Education), Shunendo Chosa: Chugakko Sotsugyo Jikki no Jokyo (Initial Survey: The Situation at the Time of Graduation from Middle School). Separate reports for each of the local areas were released under this general title from 1966 to 1968.

bottom on all four tests) in each of these tests. We lack data on other educational outcomes, but these limited findings support the view that Kyoto's educational system is different, or at least at one extreme within the Japanese system. For our research, it is especially important to note that this is the extreme with the most equal outcomes, at least in terms of cognitive achievement.

All the same, we should emphasize that the differences in mean scores and coefficients of variables for the ten Japanese districts are not great. One of these tests, the DAT verbal reasoning test, was originally developed and administered in the U.S. The results for a similar age group in America fall outside of the Japanese ranges the mean is lower (18.5) and the coefficient of variation is higher (.468). Our field observations in several other prefectures lead us to conclude that Kyoto may be the forerunner in Japan's egalitarian whole-man education, yet Kyoto's practices are not vastly different from what one study found in other areas of Japan. While there is variation within Japan in terms of educational outcomes and while Kyoto is at one end of that distribution, it also appears plausible that the several Japanese districts may be bunched towards one end of an hypothetical international distribution.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EGALITARIAN SENTIMENT

Distinct from cognitive learning--and more crucial in terms of the argument of this book--is the impact that the Japanese primary school has on the moral orientations of youth. According to the major current research on moral development, young people begin to acquire the higher levels of moral cognition, reasoning and feeling in the early years of primary school. Kohlberg indicates that the first steps towards the higher stages of moral development begin at about age 7.[1] Piaget finds that children move from heteronomous morality (subject to another's laws) to autonomous morality (subject to one's own laws) at age 8 or so.[2]

Thus the more complex and malleable levels of moral development occur in the early years of primary school. Clearly, Japanese educators are aware of these basic developmental facts, and structure an educational program geared to maximize the opportunity of the early years.[3] Relative to the final years of the primary school and further education, the first years are not exceptionally demanding in an academic sense. Much effort is devoted to establishing a cohesive home room unit that will facilitate moral education. The same teacher stays with this home room group throughout the first two full school years and conducts the full range of education from reading and writing to physical education. These educational characteristics correspond quite closely with the conditions Bidwell and Vreeland have identified as most conducive to a "very strong, homogenous moral impact."[4] Reinforcing our expectation that the Japanese primary school has a powerful influence on the values of its charges is the "totalness" of the school experience.[5] Once a Japanese child begins school, the major proportion of his waking hours virtually throughout the year is spent either in school, at school, or on school-related activities.

The Japanese school attempts to convey a variety of moral lessons. Some of these lessons are similar to those outlined by Dreeben in his analysis of the American school's; hidden curriculum - for example, the commitment to achievement, to hard work, and to universalism.[6] Also the primary school stresses the core societal values of particularistic groupism, concern for others, and order. Yet at the same time as the primary school promotes continuity, we find that it promotes a new set of orientation which we call the "egalitarian sentiment." Three of the key components of this new sentiment are:

a. An egalitarian orientation to jobs: This orientation stresses the ways in which all jobs contribute to the greater good and hence are deserving of respect. Grading of jobs in terms of their importance or prestige is de-emphasized.

b. An individuated orientation. This orientation encourages the nurturance of personally conceived goals and the high evaluation of striving to realize these personal goals relative to merely following the accepted way. In the realm of work, the individuated orientation leads individuals to seek intrinsic rewards and to place less emphasis on status and income.

c. A participatory orientation. This orientation leads individuals to critically participate in groups, associations, and other collectivities. It leads to challenging traditional patterns of hierarchical authority in the family, the work place, the community and the polity.

Insofar as primary school pupils learn these lessons and they are reinforced during subsequent stages of development, we would expect pressures for change in adult society. Of course, the primary school and more generally the school system do not have a monopoly on the process of socialization. As children move into their teens other experiences become quite influential. The ideas of peers become more persuasive as do the media and the examples of adult rule-models. We know of no single account which has attempted to summarize and evaluate the impact of these various agents of socialization. Our account will build largely on personal impressions developed over the period we were conducting field work.

In that so little research is available on Japanese socialization agents, we will be unable to consider as many things as we would like in this chapter. We will not, for example, be able to determine in any rigorous way the relative influence of different agents. Still, we do have some opinions concerning relative influences which we will introduce as we proceed in our analysis.

In a thoughtful reconsideration of the political socialization research tradition, Richard Merelman observes that political learning involves personal development along several distinct fronts--the development of motivation to learn, the acquisition of information about politics, the occurence of crystalling political experiences which highlight the relevance of this information, and finally the evaluation of all these components.[7] Merelman suggest that these different types of learning may be effected by different agents, but all of these are critical in shaping the final result. Also, he argues there is likely to be considerable overlap in the types of learning that go on in different settings. Merelman's observation on political socialization can be generalized to other learning processes included those we will be considering in this chapter. The implication is that individual development has many components, and can be stimulated by diverse situations. However, in that the school is so central to the life of Japanese children, the school is likely to be central in most adolescent learning processes.

It is due to this perspective that we place so much emphasis in this chapter on what goes on in the primary school. However, it should be apparent as we review the impact of other socialization agents that we discover they provide impressive reinforcement of the school's lessons. Up until the time young people leave the educational system, they experience little that is contrary to the egalitarian, individuated, and participatory orientations.

The Development of Egalitarian Work Orientations: The Primary School Experience

Children obtain information from many sources during their early years, but the occupational messages are typically diluted. T.V. provides primary school children with a fare of fantasy dramas such as Heidi, Snow White, and a Japanese version of King Kong as well as comedies and pop-singing.[8] Insofar as programs depict realistic situations, many seem to feature such occupations as pilot, school teacher, policeman, or restauranteur. There is relatively little in the way of historical fiction, possibly because producers are still uncertain about the proper way to treat the past. The types of things most children read about tend to resemble the themes found on T.V. It is only a minority who break away from manga (comic books) to work their way through the books of their school and local libraries. Doubtless, the slant in the media's message has some influence on the emerging occupational consciousness of primary school children; I expect it facilitates a positive disposition to the newly developing leisure and service occupations as well as to futuristic work involving space-ships, electronics, and computers. These are the prominent themes.

Still, at this stage, the media's messages seem secondary in comparison with the schools. While the school's main thrust is in a different direction, we might note that parts of its curriculum reinforce the media's message of glamour and ambition. Old-system Japanese texts included numerous short biographies of famous people as a way of fanning the ambition of students--Tokugawa Ieyasu, General Nogi, Pasteur, Florence Nightingale, and others.[9] This tendency is less common today. Heroes are completely purged from the social science and moral education courses. However, there is mention of exemplary figures in other courses, notably science where the inside leaf of texts often includes the names and contributions of path-breakers.

Thus it is not surprising to read in Goodman's comparative study of the occupational perceptions of primary school students that:

> in Japan the boys speak of becoming a "company man" or "office man," or "president of the company," and they want to be bankers, factory or store owners, employees of a "trading company" or--better still--the founder of such a company. In the United States boys most frequently speak of becoming salesmen and of merchandising specific products (e.g. whosesale drugs, retail clothing).
>
> American boys discuss with sophisticated practicality the relative merits of careers in electronic as compared with electrical, or chemical as compared with civil engineering, while the Japanese boys are more given to dreamy contemplation of great things to be achieved through a nebulous "science." Moreover, the dreams of Japanese boys soar beyond the mundane level of

> superior picture tubes for color TV and such other specific engineering problems as are likely to engross Americans. The Japanese is inclined toward vast humanitarian goals, to "make a machine which will protect from the dangers of atomic or hydrogen bombs," to "invent a machine to cure disease by radio-activity," or to "explore the universe." He also inclines toward scientific hero-worship, and not a few Japanese boys aspire to "win a Nobel prize, like Dr. Yukawa." Nobel prize-winners are more numerous in the United States, but the American boys who seem to know of their existence and aspire to be like them are conspicious by their absence.[10]

For Japanese girls, Goodman reports a similar romantic tendency towards politics and public service as well as teaching. While Goodman observes these fantastic dreams in Japanese youth, she does not find much difference in the average prestige level of the occupations aspired to by the youth in the two nations. If there is any difference at all, it is that Japanese boys are more likely to look to ordinary manual jobs and Japanese girls are more likely to think of becoming housewives.

Fantasy aside, these more mundane aspirations of Japanese can be related to what they are taught in the social science curriculum. This curriculum conveys to children a sense that everyone should work, and that all work is essential both for society as a whole and for individual members. As directed by the central government's official Course of Study, first grade social studies texts begin with a discussion of school life and soon turn to consider the important contribution of janitors and cooks to each school's welfare. Then the texts turn to the structure of typical Japanese families showing how the external occupations and home chores of each member are essential. Second grade texts, according to the Course of Study should strive:

> To enable children to realize the fact that their lives are constituted resting on the labours on the part of many of those who are engaged in the production and circulation of commodities, traffic and communications, as well as in the efforts to safeguard life and property; thus to help the children to deepen their interest in the persons who are at work, and also make them aware of the implications of the division of labour in society.[11]

The Course of Study goes on for two full pages discussing the contributions of wholesale and retail shop-keepers, farmers and food processors, foresters, fishermen, blue-collar workers, firemen, policemen, and so on. Conspicious for their absence are high status occupations such as doctor and government bureaucrat. The third grade text takes up activity in the public sector including the facilities for water supply, sewage disposal, and health protection. The fourth grade shifts to civics; the texts convey a sense that social problems are widespread--pollution, poverty, bad-health--and that individuals are expected to participate in their solution. Along with the implications of this message for political socializations, we might also note its unwritten encouragement of careers in public service. In the fifth grade, we again find a concentration of work-related themes in the Course of Study:

> Have them consider the relation between agricultural production and the people's lives and the achievements of those who have been putting forth effort for an increase in production for others.
>
> To guide them to understand the fact that in the forestry and the marine product industry, as well, mechanization of operations and changes in other methods of production are observed, and at the same time stimulate their interest in the conditions under which the people in the farming, mountain and fishing villages are exerting efforts in diversified forms under the conditions of the new age.
>
> To guide them to consider the significance of industrial production from the viewpoint of the way of life of the people and of the industry as a whole, and at the same time lead them to deepen their grasp of the present condition of Japanese industry and its historic background.[12]

The sixth grade course shifts to a historical study of Japan's development and then to a consideration of Japan's place in the world. The final lessons focus on the third world, the role of the UN, and the importance of international peace. One gains the sense that the social studies texts are attempting to balance the tendency among young people to develop glamorous dreams by focusing on the humdrum side of work, and by showing how all occupations contribute in important ways to the world of work.

Other aspects of the school routine are also aimed at encouraging esteem for ordinary work. We have noted how school children are required to clean up their own classrooms and the school grounds and how the contributions of the janitors and cooks are often praised by teachers and the principal. Also, parents from the most ordinary homes are warmly welcomed and encouraged to take responsible roles in PTA and the school ceremonies.

The school's celebration of ordinary work does seem to affect the way young people evaluate occupations. For example, Masashi and Kuzuko Fukuya report that their sample of nearly 500 sixth grade primary students has a reasonably accurate perception of the different qualities required for achieving success in politics, business, medicine, agriculture, and small business management. They understand that the doctor requires more knowledge and technique than the company president, and both require much more than the owner of a noodle shop. Also the young people recognize that these occupations receive different rewards. These judgments are given in Table 7.1 where we present their perceptions of relative income and prestige

TABLE 7.1

SIXTH GRADE BOY'S EVALUATIONS OF SELECTED OCCUPATIONS
(Girls in Parentheses)

Selected Occupation

Type of Evaluation	Large Company President	Leading Diet Member	Doctor Doing Cancer (Research)	Noodle Man	Farmer,	Teacher (of handicapped children)
Requires knowledge and New Technique	73.8 (73.0)	70.8 (74.0)	89.8 (88.0)	49.3 (48.3)	66.3 (66.8)	67.8 (68.5)
Lucrative	77.0 (76.0)	76.0 (75.8	64.5 (63.3)	52.3 (54.3)	54.8 (52.0)	38.8 (41.5)
Prestigious	57.5 (59.3)	68.5 (71.0)	78.8 (81.0)	43.5 (45.8)	48.8 (50.8)	79.3 (80.8)
Important for Society	59.5 (60.3)	78.3 (78.3)	90.5 (90.8)	51.8 (50.8)	64.0 (67.0)	83.3 (87.8)
Personal Choice	33.5 (35.0)	45.0 (29.3)	45.8 (38.3)	32.5 (25.0)	26.5 (22.8)	37.0 (55.8)

Source: Masashi Fukaya and Kuzuko Fukaya. Gendai Kodomoron (Perspectives on Today's Children). Tokyo: Yukikakn, 1975, p. 98.

Scale	100	75	50	25	0
	very much	fairly	can't say	not so much	nil

on a five point scale. Teachers are thought to receive relatively less income but more prestige than the other occupations; company presidents are thought to contribute less to society than teachers, doctors, politicians, and even farmers--though somewhat more than the owner-operators of noodle shops. Still with respect to all these evaluations, the primary school students are not very severe in their discriminations. If we take their answers literally, we find they neither say that the position of owner of a noodle shop is prestigious nor that it is not--rather that it is so-so. Similarly, teachers and doctors, who get the highest average prestige rating, are merely considered "farily prestigious." Stated differently, the range between the occupations getting the highest and lowest prestige scores (doctor and noodle shop owner-operator respectively) on a scale of 100 is only 35; Japanese adults in a 1975 national study ranking the same occupations on a 100 point scale showed a divergence of 46 points.[13]

The Development of Egalitarian Occupational Orientations: The Middle and High School Experience

As students proceed beyond the primary school their sources of information on occupations become much richer. Their television and radio tastes shift to more realistic programs which for most boys includes heavy doses of sports; surveys indicate that the average middle-schooler spends nearly three hours a day watching television. Their favorite programs include comedies and soap operas which often portray ordinary families in a positive light. The most popular programs during the year of our field work revealed the episodes of the following occupational heroes: a family running a soda fountain, an apprentice potter, a school teacher, a family operating a noodle shop, a doctor and his terminally ill teenage daughter, and a young aspiring airplane pilot. Also, during this period the networks offered several "specials" on the labor market: One talked about the phenomena of over-education which Japan, the U.S., and other nations supposedly shared while a second interviewed a number of college graduates who were working in various blue and gray collar jobs such as waiters and mechanics. These programs presented a thoughtful message about the decreasing returns than can be expected from advanced education and the unique rewards that are found in seemingly ordinary occupations.

Middle schoolers also begin to read much more on their own. By this stage virtually all read at least one national newspaper each day and are exposed to popular weekly magazines. These media also provide them with perspectives on occupations. Looking over back issues of these magazines one perceives a timeworn formula. Each autumn, the magazines feature a number of scare stories about exam-prep schools and about young students driving themselves too hard. Then in the early spring they tell who gets into which elite university and from April they report the names of the universities attended by the new recruits to top government and business organizations. The obvious effect of this journalism is to perpetuate a belief in the elite course. Nevertheless, in recent years one can sense a new pessimism in these popular weeklies. For example, the weekly Shukan Asahi frequently reports on unemployed university graduates and their problems: one recent article discusses the large number of "underemployed" University of Tokyo Ph.D.'s who, because there are no jobs, have no alternative except to hang around as researchers.[14] The article concludes with quotes from several of Todai's "over doctors" (underemployed Ph.D.'s) urging young mothers to cool the educational and occupational aspirations they have for their children. Other journals such as Career Guidance have recently been established to specialize in the area of supplying young people with information on new careers. Apart from the flooded elite course, the journal lays special stress on the semi-professions such as medical technician, nutritionist, physical education instructor, and so on.

In addition, as young people enter middle school they become increasingly involved in their peer groups and, as Grusen notes, educational and occupational plans are a major topic.[15] As far as we can tell, no one has attempted a detailed study of the types of things young people say to each other. All we can say from our very limited observation is that peer counsel is not very critical, and does not attempt to confront realities. Young people seem to restrict discussion of their plans to their closest friends, and these friends usually take the role of sounding board and supporter. Friends will encourage each other by saying anything is possible if you try. It seems significant that a growing minority of those who seek entrance to college are doing so only because their friends are doing the same thing. It would seem then that the peer group pushes many youth into a higher educational experience and a life plan for which they are not especially well motivated or even prepared. Friends are said to share information on prospective exam questions, on preferred teachers, juku and so on with little reservation. According to several observers, their generosity is not even curbed by the thought that furthering a friend's success may thwart their own.[16]

With the increasing diversification of sources providing relevant information, the school's role as a source of cognitive information on occupations is probably more reduced relative to the primary school period. Actually, in the middle schools, less than a week during the second year of the social studies course focuses on "occupations and life." As in the primary school curriculum, the purpose is to teach students that work is both a right and a duty, that their labor contributes not only to their personal welfare but also to the broader society, and moreover that the nature of work is undergoing rapid technological change. Teachers are also urged to tell students about the local agencies in charge of vocational education and training, and about the Public Employment Security Office. The text used in Kyoto City followed these instructions to the letter, though with some interesting embellishments that will take on significance when we turn to other aspects of our arguments.[17] The Kyoto text identifies technician, teacher and artisan as typical professionals--but does not mention high status examples like doctor, lawyer and dentist. In the text, great stress is placed on the Constitutional Guarantees of equal employment (Article 22). In this spirit youth are told that they can select their occupations on their own; no mention is made of parental guidance or for that matter of the school's role in occupational counseling. The senior high Course of Study makes virtually no mention of occupations.

While social science texts do not devote a large amount of space to occupations as such, they do take up many related activities--altogether one third of the second-year texts in middle school deal with aspects of national and international economic activity. Occupation-related topics are also taken up in other courses. In one of the schools I visited, the principal and teachers were attempting to boost student images of the occupations performed by burakumin, a former outcaste group. So every week during the ethics period, students were provided a special course on the activities of garbagemen, leatherworkers, and butchers. This type of special education has become fairly common in the Kansai area where the schools are attempting to aid in upgrading the social position of the burakumin. Of course, from a national perspective, it is still exceptional.

By the stage of middle school the curriculum is no longer explicitly teaches students about occupations as such. On the other hand, the academic selection that begins to take place in the middle school does force students to think about their occupational future--will they upon graduation continue in an academic course or take up one of the several of the vocational courses provided at the high school level. And the way in which middle school teachers discuss these alternatives with students has profound occupational implications. In the past, it is said that the teachers simply explained that the different high school courses led to differentially "valued" occupations--professional and managerial jobs at the top, clerical jobs below these, and blue-collr and artisan jobs at a still lower level; moreover, becoming a company man was more desirable than going it alone or in a small enterprise. Students were told that middle school grades were the best indicator of where they would end up on the social ladder. This advice was supplemented by advice from parents, with the result that class considerations exercised some influence: upper class parents being ambitious for their children irrespective of their performance while lower class parents inclined to steer their children in the direction of traditional family pursuits.

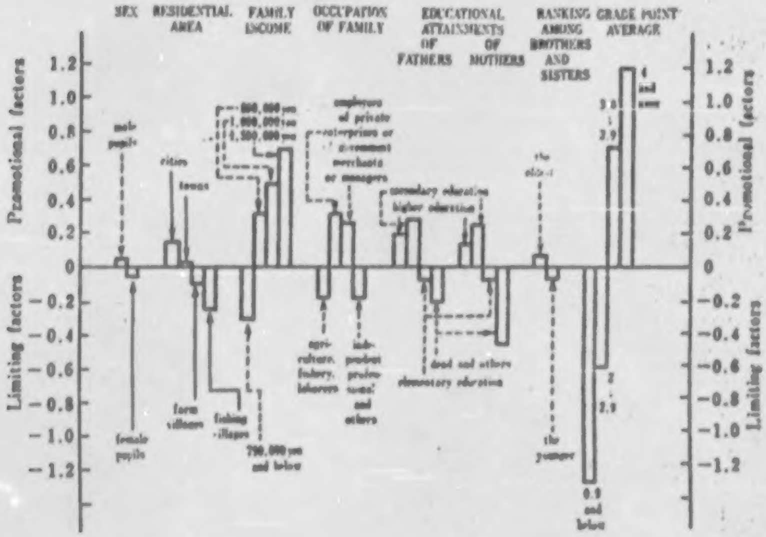
However, from discussions with those teachers involved, it would appear over the postwar period that this counseling process has experienced subtle changes. Counselors still inform students that the respective courses require differential ability, but no longer do they uniformly place the vocational courses below all academic courses. For example, in the Kyoto system (and in several of the other "progressive" urban systems) counselors are likely to tell students that many of the vocational courses require more ability than do most of the academic high schools of the private sector. In prefectures without a large private sector, they would paint a somewhat different picture. (As we will indicate in Chapter 8). The main point is that counselors are no longer so emphatic in relating the ability and course alternatives in overlapping hierarchies. Secondly, counselors present a more flexible picture of the relative value of different occupations and occupational outcomes that are likely to flow from the different courses. Again there are differences by prefecture, but the Kyoto area counselors claim they tried to stress the intrinsic rewards of all occupations, urging students to make choices based on their own interests. Similarly, the counselors, while bringing parents into the counseling process, tried to establish an atmosphere where students could express and act on their own preferences. These messages clearly are not consistent with the view which says the school acts to reproduce the class order.

Needless to say, the school-initiated counseling process is only one of several influences bearing on youth's choices for further study and careers. The school's message tends to run against the grain of that of parents and the more conversational media, while reinforcing the views and information supplied from more progressive sources. Which among these sources is most influential cannot be determined. Still as we look at the actual patterns of adolescent aspiration and choices, we cannot help but be impressed with the limited impact of background factors. First let us take a look at the Ministry of Education's survey of the high school aspirations of a national sample of middle-schoolers. In Figure 7.1 we present the results of a statistical analysis using the Hayashi II method which relates several background factors and school performance to the desire to go on to high school. The height of the bar above each category represents its relative contribution to explaining whether middle schoolers plan to go to high school or not. Far more important than any of the background factors is a middle schooler's grade point average. In a sub-analysis, the Ministry also shows how grade point average is the principal determinant of the course individuals plan to take up. In other words, the school's message through its process of evaluating students is more influential in shaping aspirations than any of the family variables included in the study.

Unfortunately, the Ministry's study does not provide the information for determining where students actually end up. Other studies, several of which we summarize later, suggest a complicated picture. As with high school aspirations, grade point average is the major determinant; however, class and region also play an important role. In urban areas the best students obtain entry to "famous" schools and one finds a definite class bias in their composition. Beneath these best schools are the public academic and vocational schools, and for the former there appears to be relatively little class bias. On the other hand, the picture for the vocational schools is more complicated. Some of the very able lower-class children select these over an academic high school out of a recognition that their family

Figure ~~[illegible]~~5.
7.1

Quantification of Factors Influencing Individuals' Wishes to Proceed to Higher Levels of Education, as of 1968 from Lower Secondary School to Upper Secondary School



circumstances will not permit them to go onto a university; hence the vocational courses provide the quickest route to a livelihood. On the other hand, the sons from upper and middle class homes who fail to gain admission to a good academic high school will often choose low quality private academic high schools rather than these vocational courses. They hope through diligent study in these schools supplemented by extra-education, to bring their grades up to the level where they can compete for college entrance. Girls from upper and middle class homes are not as firmly set on college and may settle for commercial, home economics, or nursing courses. Still, here again, there is a slight bias towards the private sector. Thus, with the exception of the public academic high schools, one finds a complex pattern of interaction between social background and academic ability in determining where middle schoolers actually end up.

These comments provide the essential background for interpreting what is undoubtedly the best postwar study of the occupational aspirations of Japanese high school students. In cooperation with several leading Japanese scholars, Mary Jean Bowman collected data from over 15,000 public high school students and their parents on several urban and rural areas selected in such a manner as to give a fair representation of the national situation.[18] That the students were restricted to the public sector introduces some bias, but as we have indicated in our discussion of high school attendance, the public schools receive a considerable diversity of students. As one offshoot of the broader study, Yasumasa Tomoda scored the ideal and expected occupational aspirations of the male students, using the weights indicated in Table 7.2. Tomoda then computed the average ideal and expected occupational scores for the males with fathers from each of eight graded status levels as indicated in Table 7.3 and made some comparisons with similar studies in the U.S. He concludes:

> Japanese students of middle and lower social class origins had much higher aspirations than did the corresponding American students. Furthermore, the aspiration scores of Japanese students of lower social class origins turned out to be slightly higher than those of the students of middle class origins. A series of tests demonstrate that the flatness or even curvilinearity of the distribution of students' occupational aspiration levels cannot be attributed to response biases. The pattern was repeated within each type of curriculum, in rural and in urban area sic/, including and excluding sons of farmers, and within student class-rank categories. Furthermore, the tests included examination of characteristics of students who did not respond to the questions on occupational aspirations. Sensitivity tests (not detailed here) demonstrated also that the contrast between the Japanese and U.S. findings could not be attributed to any differences in status coding. We concluded that Japanese students'

TABLE 7.2

THE DUNCAN SCALE, THE EIGHT STATUS CATEGORIES AND THE VALUE WEIGHTS FOR COMPUTATIONS OF MEAN STUDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION SCORES

Duncan Scale	Eight Status Categories	Value for Aspiration Score
80 or more	1	9.0
70-79	2	7.5
60-69	3	6.5
50-59	4	5.5
35-49	5	4.2
25-34	6	3.0
11-24	7	1.8
10 or less	8	0.5

Source: Yasumasa Tomoda, "Occupational Aspirations of Japanese High School Students," International Journal of Educational Sociology Vol. 2 (1968), p. 218.

TABLE 7.3

AVERAGE OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION SCORES FOR EACH FATHER'S STATUS LEVEL

Father's Status Level	Students' Average Aspiration Score									
	Excluding Students' in Agricultural Course					Including Students' in Agricultural Course				
	Preferred		Expected		Difference	Preferred		Expected		Difference
	(M)	(N)	(M)	(N)	(Pref-Exp)	(M)	(N)	(M)	(N)	(Pref-Exp)
1	7.45	40	8.15	33	-.70	7.45	40	8.15	33	-.70
2	7.03	106	6.80	95	+.23	7.03	106	6.75	96	+.29
3	6.91	354	6.56	327	+.35	6.90	358	6.55	330	+.35
4	6.92	348	6.31	309	+.61	6.89	358	6.27	318	+.62
5	6.54	630	6.04	532	+.50	6.40	749	5.74	653	+.55
6	6.60	473	6.06	430	+.54	6.51	521	5.91	482	+.60
7	6.63	381	6.15	336	+.48	6.62	388	6.13	342	+.49
8	6.68	41	6.33	43	+.35	6.69	42	6.22	45	+.47

Source: Yasumasa Tomoda, "Occupational Aspirations of Japanese High School Students," International Journal of Educational Sociology Vol. 2 (1968), p. 218.

> occupational aspiration levels are much less influenced by their social class origins than might be expected.[19]

From a comparative standpoint, this evidence on the Japanese pattern of expectations is remarkable. Yet it is precisely what we would expect from the process of egalitarian education and its subsequent reinforcement that has been described in these pages. The students' expectations are, of course, unrealistic. Many will have to settle for work other than that which they aspire to. Hence, many are destined to experience severe frustrations as they move on to the university and into their careers.

The egalitarian occupational orientations that young people acquire in school are, no doubt, altered somewhat as they move into the actual world of work; they come to a better appreciation of how different types of work are ordered in organizational hierarchies and receive different privileges and rewards. Still, it is possible that some of the egalitarian lessons today's young people have learned will stick with them as they move through their careers. The 1975 social mobility survey asked a sample of adult males aged 20-70 to rank a list of 82 occupations as well as to indicate the criteria they placed greatest emphasis on when conducting this ranking. Young respondent who had been educated in the egalitarian environment of postwar schools were more likely to say they evaluated the "general standing" of occupations in terms of challenge, style, autonomy and skill requirement while de-emphasizing influence, income, education, responsibility and public respect. Also young people were less discriminating in their rankings. Respondents were asked to evaluate each occupation on a five-point scale from very high in general standing to very low; young people were less likely to choose the extremes. This difference shows up when we convert the evaluations to the conventional "prestige" scale with values ranging from 0 to 100. Table 7.4 which contrasts the average rankings for the youngest age group and two middle aged groups indicates a consistent tendency for young people to regard low status occupations with greater esteem than older people and high status occupations with less esteem. The egalitarian occupational socialization of the young group constitutes at least part of the explanation for this difference.

The Individuated Orientation

We should emphasize that the Tomoda analysis of occupational aspirations is based on data collected in 1966. It is uncertain whether a survey conducted in 1976 would yield the same results. Several of the factors underlying this surprising evidence would appear to have undergone important changes over the past decade.

As the postwar educational system initially developed, young people were provided relatively little guidance concerning their abilities or how these abilities related to different occupations. Thus many young people had not subjected their occupational ambitions to a serious evaluation even as late

TABLE 7.4

PRESTIGE SCORES BY AGE

	20-29	40-49	20-29 minus 40-49	50-59	20-29 minus 50-59
Univ. Prof.	82.5	84.4	-1.9	83.4	- .9
M.D.	82.8	83.4	- .6	82.5	+ .3
Civil Engineer	62.8	64.0	-1.2	62.0	+ .8
Company Kacho					
City Kacho	58.7	61.2	-2.5	60.2	-1.5
Teacher	61.9	64.6	-2.7	62.1	- .2
Temple Priest	57.6	60.3	-2.7	59.5	-1.9
Cop	52.8	56.2	-3.4	55.7	-2.9
Employee in Large Org.					
Manager of Small Shop	48.5	49.4	- .9	48.5	0
Joiner	41.7	42.9	-1.2	41.1	+ .6
Barber	47.3	45.2	+2.1	42.4	+4.9
Auto Mech.	42.7	43.6	- .9	42.3	+ .4
R. R. Station Man	44.0	44.6	- .6	45.2	-1.2
Carpenter	45.1	45.3	- .2	45.8	- .7
Owner Farmer	43.6	44.7	-1.1	45.8	-2.2
Truck Driver	40.0	40.9	- .9	42.3	-2.3
Lathe	34.0	38.8	-4.8	38.3	-4.3
Clerk in Small Shop	36.2	35.3	+ .9	33.9	+2.3
Spinner	33.8	33.4	+ .4	28.8	+5.0
Insurance Agent	34.4	37.2	-2.8	37.6	-2.2
Typist	48.8	48.9	- .1	45.9	+2.9
Fisherman	37.4	34.8	+2.6	36.7	+ .7
Baker	37.4	36.6	+ .8	35.2	+2.2
Tenant Farmer	30.2	29.3	+ .5	27.4	+2.8
Road Construction	26.0	28.1	-2.1	27.8	-1.8
Street Salesman	29.4	27.4	+2.0	26.5	+2.9
Coal Miner	29.1	28.9	+ .2	25.3	+3.8
Charcoal Maker	25.3	24.4	+1.1	20.9	+4.4

Source: 1975 Social Mobility Survey.

as the final years of high school. Partly due to this lack of information, many young people had romantic and somewhat unrealistic orientations to the world of work. Gradually this situation has changed (as we will indicate in some detail in Chapter Eight). A number of testing services have been established to help young people gain a better understanding of their abilities, and several new occupational guidance magazines are in circulation. Furthermore, it would appear that the post-compulsory school system has become somewhat more differentiated and selective than in the early sixties. Since 1962 a large group of five-year technical colleges has been established, and within the private post-compulsory sector one finds a growing division between famous and ordinary schools. All these developments assist young people in thinking more seriously about occupations at an earlier age, and this probably results in greater "realism." In that there is a class bias in educational achievement and many of the sources which provide advice on occupational planning link educational to occupational achievement, this new realism may bring about a stronger relation between class position and occupational aspiration.

On the other hand, two tendencies that were operative in the sixties but have become much more evident since then tend to counteract the stratifying effect of the new information. The first is egalitarian education with its tendency to promote the motivation of all children. As each year has passed, this egalitarian education has become more widely adopted;

other things equal, the diffusion of these practices would lead to a steady decline in the motivational stratification of young people, at least up to the point when they complete their primary school education. Whether the availability of realistic information subsequently neutralizes the primary school's levelling effect or not we cannot say.

Secondly we should point to the new "individuated" tendency among young people which, among other things, involves a more selfish or self-actualizing orientation to work and life. Increasingly young people seem to place a higher value on their own personal satisfaction than on worldly success. Among the individualistic orientation's many consequences is to dispose youth to adopt a more critical attitude to occupations. There is growing evidence that youth are beginning to devalue the traditional rewards of status and income and to place more importance on considerations such as freedom from control, challenge, and style. We have already provided some evidence on this shift in connection with our discussion of occupational ranking. These new work orientations would also affect the way a 1976 sample might respond to an occupational aspiration survey. Rather than make choices simply in terms of status, taste would affect their responses, thus complicating the traditional class-ability-aspiration linkage.

Compared with other emerging values, it is difficult to determine the origin of this individuated tendency. Postwar child-rearing with its impressive level of maternal devotion, may contribute to an indivualistic desire for gratification and fulfillment. The school and public institutions give much lip-service to individualism. For example, in the middle school texts great stress is placed on the individual's right to choose his job. Looking at other parts of the school curriculum, we find that history books champion the courage of individuals who have stood up for ideals, even in the face of opposition. However, the mass production character of schools does not allow much opportunity for individualized instruction or other means of encouraging individuality.

In comparison with the school experience, as youth mingle with their friends their individualistic sentiments receive more generous support. Friends discuss how they can meet and even marry a particular individual whom their parents do not favor. Today's youth spend a lot of their time alone. Families are small so many youth do not have a brother or sister. The pressures to study have escalated so that much of their free time is spent pouring over books. These private experiences may also nurture individualism.

Perhaps the best indicator of the emerging individuated orientation comes from a question on life goals that has been repeated at five-year intervals since 1953 in a series of Japanese national character surveys conducted by the National Institute of Mathematics. This institute is one of Japan's most respected social science research institute, and each of these surveys has included a large representative sample of at least 2,000 people, so we can place considerable reliance on the findings. The life goals question goes as follows:

> There are various views about one's way of life. Of those listed here, which one would you say comes closest to your feeling?
>
> 1. Work hard and get rich
> 2. Study earnestly and make a name for yourself
> 3. Don't think about money or fame; just live a life that suits your own tastes
> 4. Live each day as it comes, cheerfully and without worrying
> 5. Resist all evils in the world and live a pure and just life
> 6. Never think of yourself; give everything in service of society

The third response--"just live a life that suits your own tastes"--is the most individuated self-actualizing response, and as we can see from Table 7.5, it is the response which has become progressively more common for young people.

In another set of surveys, young people between the ages of 18 and 21 were asked what sort of criteria were important in their selection of jobs (Table 7.6). In 1976, the majority of the respondents selected the ambitious response--"because of the possibility of future growth and high security"--while less than two-fifths mentioned the more individualistic criteria of a job "suited to his or her ability and liking." By 1971, the relative emphasis has been

TABLE 7.5

THE PROPORTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE (AGE 20-24) WHO SELECTED THE LIFE GOAL "LIVE A LIFE THAT SUITS ONE'S TASTES" FROM 1953-1973

	1953	1958	1963	1968	1973
Young People	34%	38%	45%	51%	53%
Total Sample	21%	27%	30%	32%	39%

Source: Gathered from Vols. II and III of The National Institute of Mathematic's Nihonjin no Kokuminsei. (The Japanese National Character)

TABLE 7.6

ATTITUDES OF YOUTHS IN JAPAN

Reasons For the Selection of Jobs	1971	1956
Because the salary is high	5.9	1.2
Because inherited from parents	0.8	0.4
Because of suited to his or her ability and liking	64.4	39.6
Because of the possibility of future growth and high security	17.2	52.5
Because needed by the society	4.0	5.6
Because of the school prestige	0.4	0.5
No particular preference	6.7	0.2
No answer	0.6	0.0

Source: WAKAMONO ISHIKI CHOSA (Analysis of the Psychology of Youth in Japan); January 1972; by the Japan Research Center, Tokyo.

reversed--nearly two-thirds of the young job-seekers preferred the individualistic response while the ambitious alternative was selected by only one fifth.

This individuated trend has caused much concern among certain elements of Japan's business and industrial leadership. They fear contemporary young people may be losing the hard work and company commitment values which have played such a vital role in Japan's economic growth. Out of this concern, they have commissioned a number of studies to probe more deeply into the emerging orientations of youth. One of the more interesting involves a survey of the attitudes to education, work, and society of youth in eleven nations. Possibly the investigation hoped to discover that Japanese youth, while deficient in the traditional commitment to hard work, and ambitions were still superior in these respects to the youth of other advanced societies. Insofar as the survey's sponsors believed the results of this survey--conducted by Gallup International--they were in for a shock. For example, Japanese young people were exceptional in their overwhelming approval of the opinion, "it is important in this world to take it easy and not to work too hard." When asked what they looked for in school, Japanese young people were more likely to say they wanted a good education than to pick an instrumental reason such as "improving their chances of obtaining a good job and marriage." Similarly when asked "Why do you think man works?", Japanese youth were least likely among the young of the 11 nations surveyed to choose the instrumental response "to earn money"; rather a large percentage chose the more individuated response "to find self-fulfillment."

The various pieces of information do suggest that contemporary youth have developed a new orientation to life that is more inward-looking and less concerned with extrinsic rewards and social achievement. While we have labelled this new tendency an emerging individuated orientation, this may lead to some misunderstanding. Unquestionably today's young people are more concerned about their own personal growth and satisfaction and hence are more individualistic. On the other hand, this does not mean that they reject group life or avoid involvement in large collectivities. To the contrary, today's young people would appear just as positive as ever about group life. They mention love and friendship as among the values they consider most important. They enjoy school club activities and other opportunities for collective endeavor such as school trips. And as they move into work, most mention relations with co-workers and their bosses as a major personal concern. Thus the new individualism does not mean a rejection of groupism; rather it seems to involve a new orientation to the group. The group comes to be viewed as a collection of individuals, each of whom is seeking self-fulfillment. A group is appreciated insofar as it is responsive to individual needs. In contrast, a group that imposes rigid and unnegotiable demands on its individual members is disliked. We can see how this contingent view of group life relates to the third emerging orientation we will consider, the new skepticism towards authority and established politics.

Orientations to Decision-Making and Politics

Another of the striking developments of the postwar period is youth's new skeptical orientation to decision-making and politics: youth emphasize participation rather than authority, cooperation rather than control. These preferences are at the core of the egalitarian sentiment. We have seen traces of this new orientation in the child-rearing patterns typical of sarariman families.

The school also plays a central role in the promotion of the participatory orientation especially through its formal curriculum. The Constitution and virtually every other law and regulation affecting the educational system place much emphasis on the need to promote democracy and a critical orientation to authority. According to the Official Course of Study for Lower Secondary Schools, the first objective is:

> to have the pupils take proper cognizance of the significance of individual dignity and respect for human rights, and particularly the relationship of freedom and rights with responsibilities and duties, thereby deepening their understanding of democracy and cultivating their basic cultural nature essential as citizens who are to exercise the people's sovereignty.[20]

Later in a discussion of teaching about elections and political parties, teachers are told that:

> pupils should be led to understand that a democratic government is superior to a dictatorship, take note of the drawbacks which the former is easily subject to, increase consciousness that sovereignty resides in the people, and foster the desire and attitude of defending and developing democratic government.[21]

At the same time this official guide admonishes teachers from going overboard. It warns of the danger of promoting an "overly critical attitude in students or of failing to recognize the achievement of efforts and progress in the past." Above all, the Course of Study urges teachers to be as objective as they can and to help pupils develop the ability to make impartial judgments.

These official concerns are developed against a background of frequent charges and counter-charges from both the right and left about misuse of the schools for political purposes. These charges have a substantial basis. No small amount of leftist inclined teachers use the classroom as their personal soapbox. On the other hand, there is a definite manpower and traditional morality bias in official educational policy. These warnings and their repudiation can be understood as a further extension of the ongoing battle over the schools.

However, even if the teachers were not biased towards a new orientation to decision-making, one senses that the texts used in today's classrooms would relay the message. In the primary social studies texts which I read, I was impressed with the progressive themes sounded concerning questions of social class and authority. For example, these texts established an explicit link between the authoritarian nature of the old political regime and Japan's involvement in World War II. Repeatedly the social science and literature texts stressed the danger involved in leaving decisions to leaders. Similarly, the texts emphasized the people's role in shaping local government decisions. Huthwaite concluded from a thematic analysis of children's books used in and outside the classroom that "the most common values found in folk literature were courage, cleverness, loyalty, and cultural pride. The most common values found in realistic fiction were cooperation, kindness, independence, honesty and love of nature."[22] Hierarchical loyalty was evident in the folk literature, but it was virtually absent in fantasy and realistic literature. Indeed "none of the sample books of realistic fiction recommended loyalty to a superior, allegiance or blind loyalty. Authority was questioned and even defied on occasion." Huthwaite concludes that "hierarchical relations are much less frequently stressed in contemporary texts than cooperative horizontal relations."[23]

Moving up to the texts for middle and higher schools, these egalitarian and participation themes become much more elaborated, almost to the point of ideological statements. Ienaga's text on modern Japanese history is the best known example because of the sensational controversy it has generated. The Ministry of Education, which has claimed the authority to screen texts before they can be permitted in classrooms, ordered Ienaga to make certain alterations in his history text so as to achieve a better "balance." Ultimately Ienaga complied, but at the same time he decided to take the Ministry to court for its undemocratic act of censorship. On the first round he won, but the Ministry subsequently appealed and now the decision by the Supreme Court is pending.[24] Whatever the outcome, the controversy itself represents a special lesson in contemporary attitudes to authority for today's young people.

Ienaga's text is conspicious for its effort to present a people's history.[25] In the pre-modern period the focus is on the peasants from whom came "the productive labor to support feudal society." The Tokugawa regime's exploitative policies are said to have increased "the poverty of needy peasants and lower class city people" and created a feeling of "serious social insecurity." Thus the Meiji Revolution is initiated by lower samurai who perceived this trend among the people. Fully three pages are devoted to the Free People's Rights Movement of the early Meiji period. As the text moves into the industrial era, considerable attention is devoted to the zaibatsu and other upper class interests who gradually steer the unsuspecting people into war. The growing immiseration of the laboring classes is underlined and, as at earlier points, the great majority of illustrations are of representatives from these classes. The heroes Ienaga discusses are predominantly "outs" rather than "ins." In contrast with old system texts, military figures are left out altogether, and the barest attention is given to the military events of World War II. On the other hand, detailed attention is given to the horror of the war for the people; immeasurable loss of life and property, the hard conditions of life without adequate food or sleep, the use of human torpedoes, the involvement of school children in war production. The popular themes continue in the postwar period combined with an anti-American analysis of the cold war. Especially as the text turns to the present, students are warned of the dangers of pollution, cultural standardization, the lack of social security, the growing power of large corporations, and the injustices of corporate employment policies which, among other things, are said to be discriminate against women.

Local school boards have a number of modern history texts to choose from in addition to Ienaga; however, those who have read the full spectrum suggest that the Ienaga text is not atypical. In other words, despite government censorship, there appears to be a consistent leftist bias in upper level social science texts, against authority and unsympathetic to all but the contributions of the popular classes.

Japanese youth tend to get a similar message from most of the other media they consult. Most notable are the newspapers which, over the postwar period, have taken a consistently critical attitude to establishment politics. The newspapers seemingly delight in exposing instances of official corruption and political misconduct. They provide extensive and generally sympathetic coverage to popular movements such as the student revolt of the late sixties, the farmer's campaign to keep their land from being claimed for the Narita airport project, or the various local campaigns against industrial pollution. Similarly most of the popular weekly journals indulge in a little muckraking at the expense of established authority. These sources exposed former Prime Minister Tanaka's questionable dealings in land speculation and supplied most of the early leads on the Lockheed scandal.

As we can see, Japanese youth are exposed to a fairly consistent diet of cognitive material critical of the established institutions. This material tends to be approved by their teachers and peers. For example, Krauss notes in his study of the political socialization of young radicals that high school teachers were among the most seminal influences.[26] On the other hand, youth do not often hear articulate defenses of establishment politics or of traditional authority patterns. Parents, who would be the most obvious source of a contrary view, report that they rarely talk politics with their children. And when parents do, they often give their children the impression of being poorly informed. Youth's intense involvement in their peer society insulates them from extensive contact with other adults who might be better informed.

Finally, we should point out that the actual structures in which young people live and play have striking egalitarian tendencies at least by traditional standards. The modern family, as we have noted, encourages children to participate in family decision-making and to increasingly make decisions on their own. Within the family, the language of address has become democratized: parents are mama and papa rather than respectful father (otosan) and honorable mother (okasan). In the schools, teachers attempt to maintain order, but at the same time they encourage pupil participation. The same can be said for the school as a whole where students are allowed to assume responsibility for functions as diverse as operating the P.A. system to cleaning the school grounds. From middle schools on, students form self-government associations which, among other tasks, establish and enforce the rules of everyday student conduct; the principal's role in this area is limited to dealing with the behavior of serious trouble makers such as delinquents and persistent truants. Peer group interaction patterns including student clubs also tend to have a decidedly democratic tendency.

Thus Japanese youth are exposed to a selectively egalitarian set of messages and examples relating to decision-making. These egalitarian messages, continuously reinforced during the school years, lead youth to develop expectations concerning the proper way to make decisions that stand in considerable contrast with the prevailing norms. Some of the best evidence on these developmental patterns comes from political socialization research. Joseph A. Massey in his Youth and Politics in Japan presents a number of tables showing that middle school youth share attitudes to authority and the established political institutions that are close to those of adult Japanese. However, as youth proceed into high school a gap emerges which becomes very large by the third year (Grade 12). Young people proved to be much more suspicious of the integrity of politicians and government leaders: 41 percent of adults and 40 percent of the second year middle-schoolers disagree with the suggestion that "most Diet members are trustworthy, honest men who do not get involved in things like graft." However, 58 percent of tenth graders and 72 percent of the twelfth graders doubted the integrity of the Diet members. Similarly in contrast with 55 percent for the parents, 78 percent of the twelfth graders said they believed "a good many people in the government are dishonest and involved in corruption."[28] Young people were more likely to view political institutions as self-serving or oriented to a narrow range of powerful interest groups, and much more insistent that these institutions should open up to allow full participation by the people. These same tendencies are identified in a larger study by Okamura Tadao where it is shown that third grade primary school students tend to have a positive image of the emperor and the Prime Minister as leaders of the nation, but by the end of middle school these attitudes are reversed; rather, middle schoolers look positively on the people and feel they should run the government.[29]

One of Massey's questions is taken from the aforementioned National Character survey:

> If we get good leaders, the best way to improve the country is for the people to leave everything to them rather than for the people to discuss things among themselves.

Only 46 percent of the adult sample disagreed with this opinion while 66 percent of the second year middle schoolers (eighth graders) were opposed; among tenth graders, 76 percent disagreed and by the last year of high school this figure was up to 81 percent.[30] When we look at the trend in responses of young adults to this question from 1953 to 1973 as reported in the reports on national surveys by the National Institute of Mathematics (Table 7.7), we find a very decided trend towards increasing reluctance to "leave everything to leaders." In 1953, while 38 percent of the general population opposed leaving everyting to leaders, 54 percent of young adults 20-24 years old were in opposition. Over each successive five year period the proportion of young people opposing has steadily increased so that in the 1973 survey 74 percent opposed "leaving everything to leaders." This is obviously a substantial shift in opinion towards believing that the people should play a more active participatory role in national politics.

The National Character survey also has included an interesting question concerning respect for the authority of teachers:

> Suppose that a child comes home and says that he has heard a rumor that his teacher has done something to get himself into trouble, and suppose

TABLE 7.7

CHANGING ATTITUDES TO THE AUTHORITY OF POLITICAL LEADERS AND SCHOOL TEACHERS

	Survey Conducted In				
	1953	1958	1963	1962	1973
% of young adults (aged 20-24) who oppose relying on political leaders	54%	60%	58%	63%	74%
% of adults (20+)	38%	44%	47%	51%	60%
% of young adults who say better to tell teacher did wrong	50%	45%	58%	55%	64%
% of adults	42%	41%	50%	52%	54%

Source: Gathered from Vols. II and III of The National Institute of Mathematic's Nihonjin no Kokuminsei. (The Japanese National Character).

> that the parent knows this is true. Do you think it is better for the parent to tell the child that is true, or to deny it?

Respondents who answer "deny it," it can be reasoned, believe there is some virtue in protecting the teacher's authority even when the teacher has violated the public trust. On the other hand those who say "better to tell it is true" might be regarded as having less awe for the authority of teachers. As we can see from Table 7.7, as with the question on political leaders, there is a definite (though not as dramatic) increase between 1953 and 1973 in the proportion who in selecting "better to tell it is true" indicate a willingness to challenge established authority. This second question is particularly interesting as it seems to generate a psychological conflict in young people. On the one hand, having only just completed school (some are still attending a university) they are accustomed to respecting teachers; on the other hand, the young people feel a general distrust of established authority. In the immediate post school years the latent respect for teachers seems to suppress the anti-authority attitudes, but as each cohort grows older they seem to overcome the conflict generated by this latent respect, and thus their willingness to affirm that the teacher did wrong actually increases (see Table 9.4). The figures presented in Table 7.7 on this question then may not fully represent the young people's anti-authority sentiment.

Education Becomes a Constant

The three changes in consciousness that we have considered--towards a more egalitarian orientation to jobs, towards greater individuation, and towards greater participation--have become progressively more evident as each new cohort of postwar students has graduated from the schools. Behind these changes in outcomes is the wider acceptance of the egalitarian educational ideal. With each passing year, the proportion of teachers educated under the new system and hence familiar with the egalitarian ideal has increased; also the teachers union's influence has diffused more widely throughout the various regions of Japan.

Young people receive their most systematic introduction to these new orientations in the primary schools. Subsequent stages in the educational process mainly reinforce the lessons of the primary school. In earlier periods in Japanese history, due to the discontinuities between the morally restricted atmosphere of the primary school and the remarkably free atmosphere of the university, level of educational attainment proved to be a very powerful predictor of personal values. Unlike in many European societies, Japanese with a university education and especially those who moved into white-collar jobs had the most progressive and reformist orientations whereas the lesser educated manual workers were more conservative and tradition-bound. With the liberalization of the primary school and its pivotal role in postwar value

value socialization, we would expect these differences by educational level to decrease. Again, turning to data from the National Character Survey, we find persuasive evidence to this effect. Whereas in 1953 an individual's educational level proved to be the most consistent predictor of his response pattern, by 1973 for many questions there were but modest differences by educational level. In contrast, age and sex had become more effective differentiators of individual consciousness. Table 7.8 provides a simple illustration of education's decline as a variable. In the 1953 survey, for the youngest cohort aged 20-29 there was a 15 percent difference between university educated and middle school educated in frequency of approval for "live a life that suits one's own taste;" for the young cohort, the spread between high school and university educated was 7 percent. By 1973 the spread for the latter group had disappeared and between the university and middle school groups it had decreased to 6 percent. Similarly with respect to a question of attitude to authority--"Should the Prime Minister go to Ise"--differences by educational attainment which for the youngest cohort were quite substantial in 1953 (a 13 percent spread between middle school and university educated) virtually disappeared by 1973 (to a 1 percent spread).

Thus it would appear over the postward period, especially for those personal orientations making up the egalitarian sentiment, that educational attainment has gradually declined as a variable. With the increasing adoption of egalitarian

TABLE 7.8

PROPORTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE AGED 20-29 WITH DIFFERENT LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT WHO APPROVE OF THE LIFE-GOAL "LIVE A LIFE THAT SUITS ONE'S OWN TASTE" 1953, 1963, 1973

	Educational Attainment		
Survey Date	Middle School	High School	University
1953	43%	51%	58%
1963	48%	53%	54%
1973	29%	35%	35%

Source: Tookei Suri Kenkyusho (National Institute of Mathematics), Dai Sen Nihonjin no Kokuminsei (Third Report on National Character Surveys), Tokyo: Shiseido, 1974, p. 288.

educational goals at the primary school level and their consistent reinforcement at subsequent stages of the educational process, young people indicates ever greater acceptance of the egalitarian sentiment regardless of their level of educational attainment. For the cohorts coming out of today's schools this sentiment is a matter of course rather than a matter for consideration. Educational attainment, while at one time an important variable influencing an individual's values, is today virtually a constant.

Conclusion

There is abundant evidence to suggest significant continuities in the main value themes of modernizing Japanese society. However, in this study our focus is on change, and in this chapter we have identified three value clusters where postwar change has been the most dramatic--in occupational orientations, individualism, and attitudes to authority. It is clear that the school's egalitarian education has had an important role in bringing about these changes.

By and large the evidence for a class effect on youth's beliefs in these three areas is weak. Insofar as families from different classes once achieved differential socialization with respect to these clusters, the contemporary abscence of class effect also deserves notice.

It can be asked whether the value changes we have discussed in this chapter are important. The answer, of course, depends on the meaning of the question. We would not go so far as to suggest these changes signify a fundamental alteration in the structure of the Japanese value system; thus we would not care to argue with those who will forever insist that the honne (basic character) of the Japanese people is untouched. Still it is our belief that the changes we have identified in this chapter are not without significance. As we move on in our account, we will attempt to show how these value changes provide the evaluative basis for several of the shifts towards greater social equality that we will be considering at a later point in this study.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

[1] As reported in Jerome Kagan et al., *Child Development and Personality*, 4th Edition, p. 448.

[2] As reported in Roger Brown, *Social Psychology*, p. 404.

[3] Japanese educators are seriously discussing the extension of compulsory education to five year olds, for they feel, given the recently accelerated process of maturation, that many children enter these higher moral stages by the age of 5.

[4] Charles E. Bidwell and Rebecca S. Vreeland. "College Education and Moral Orientations: An Organizational Appearance" p. 36.

[5] Erving Goffman, The Characteristics of Total Institutions," in *Symposium on Preventive and Social Psychiatry*, Washington, D.C.: Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, 1957, pp. 33-84.

[6] Robert Dreeben, *On What is Learned in School*.

[7] Richard Merelman. *Political Socialization and Educational Climates*; Also see his "The Development of Political Ideology: A Framework for the Analysis of Political Socizlization."

[8] Nihon Kodomo o Mamorukai (Japan Society for the Protection of Children), ed. *Kodomo Hakusro* 1975 (White Paper on Children), pp. 438ff.

[9] For some examples, see Robert King Hall, ed. *Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation*.

[10] Mary Ellen Goodman, "Values, Attitudes and Social Concepts of Japanese and American Children," p. 983.

[11] Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. Course of Study for Lower Secondary Schools, 1976, pp. 34-35.

[12] Ibid., pp. 47-49.

[13] From the 1975 Social Prestige Survey; see Table 9.

[14] "Todai no Ova-Dokuta Jokyo" (The Situation of Over-doctors at the University of Tokyo). Shukan Asahi, Feb. 1977.

[15] Hiroko Tsuboto Grusen. Parent-Adolescent Relationships in Japan: Patterns of Dependency.

[16] Ezra Vogel, especially in the introduction to the second edition of his Japan's New Middle Class, stresses the concern that young people feel for each other, and their conscious downplay of competition. Also see Vogel, pp. 66.

[17] Atarashu Shakai (A New Society)

[18] Mary Jean Bowman et al. Schools and the Future in Japan.

[19] Yasumasa Tomoda, "Occupational Aspirations of Japanese High School Students."

[20] Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, Course of Study for Lower Secondary Schools, p. 64.

[21] Ibid., p. 53.

[22] Motoko Huthwaite. An Analysis of Contemporary Children's Literature with a Focus on Values, pp. 107.

[23] Ibid., p. 110.

[24] A convenient compilation of the major documents and newspaper accounts relating to this dispute is Kyo Kastro Kentei Sosho o Shyi-suru. Zenkoku Rergokai (National Federation to Support the Litigation Against Government Textbook Censorship), Kyokasho Sai. Also see Ronald P. Dore, "Textbooks Censorship in Japan: The Ienaga Case, Pacific Affairs, 1970.

[25] Saburo Ienaga. Shin Nihonshi (History of Modern Japan).

[26] Ellis S. Kranss. Japanese Radicals Revisited, p. 63.

[27] Joseph A. Massey. Youth and Politics in Japan,

[28] Ibid.

[29] Okamura Tadao, "1968 Survey as cited in Massey, op cit. p. 24.

[30] Massey, op. cit., p. 44.

[31] National Institute of Mathematics. Nihonjin no Kokuminsei. Report 3, p. 287.

[32] Joji Watanuki, "Cultural Politics."

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE EXAM COMPETITION[1]

Transitions across school levels in the Japanese educational system are marked by entrance exams. Japanese people believe that their individual life-chances hinge on success in these exams. Thus families devote a surprising proportion of their resources towards assisting their children in exam preparation, and children devote long hours day after day to study. Over the postwar period the number of children seriously committing themselves to exam preparation has steadily increased, while the number of openings at the elite schools has scarcely changed. Necessarily competition has intensified, raising several questions about the examination system:

1. The Implications for Egalitarian Values. Competition is conventionally viewed as a process where individuals are pitted against each other in the pursuit of some limited and valued goal. In that competition leads to the objective ranking of people, it can be reasoned that it also leads to a situation where individuals internalize these rankings and see themselves as superior or inferior to others. Intensified competition should lead to an accentuated tendency of subjective ranking which is exactly the opposite of what is achieved in egalitarian socialization. Which value trend, subjective ranking or equality, is more evident in the thinking and behavior of today's young people?

2. Equity. Has the growing participation of lower classes in the educational system witnessed any improvement in their rate of successful entry into higher educational institutions? Into the elite institutions?

3. The Quality of Life. Mass media accounts of the examination competition claim that it is causing a steady deterioration in the quality of adolescent life.

The Unaltered Position of the Elite Universities

As background for a consideration of these questions, let us first review several related developments that have influenced the nature of competition. We will recall that the "old system" was also characterized by heavy competition to gain entry to an elite university. The Occupation opposed the "elitist" spirit engendered by this competition, and promoted several reforms aimed at mitigating it.

Reasoning that a reduction in the distinctiveness of the elite universities would lead young people to choose from a wider pool of institutions, one of the occupational goals was to level the university hierarchy. To achieve this, the central government was pressured to reduce the differentials in its financial allocations to universities. For a few short years, the government complied with the latter request; thus, for example, the University of Tokyo's budgetary share shrank to about eight percent of the total allocated to all national educational institutions. However, by the mid-fifties Tokyo's share was once again increasing, and by the late sixties it was up to 15 percent of the total. Thus, the Occupation reforms failed to significantly alter the government's habit of favorable treatment of elite universities.[2]

Moreover, the Occupation failed to make a dent in the most central element sustaining the examination system: the link between the prestigious employers of the organizational sector and the famous universities. While the employers were concerned with the financial difficulties of some of the elite universities and openly expressed their belief that the quality of education was declining, they nevertheless retained their confidence in the ability of elite universities to attract the most able students. Moreover, believing they could provide sufficient on-the-job training to make up for the deficiencies in the education provided by the universities, the major employers continued to show preferential treatment to graduates of the elite institutions. Keidanren (The Japan Federation of Corporations) reported in 1957 that 270 out of the 321 member corporations responding to its survey said they limited their white collar recruitment search to graduates from a preferred group of universities; 61 of these corporations considered the graduates of five schools or less, and over half looked at graduates of no more than ten schools.[3] The central government, while maintaining that its civil service exams were open to all, continued to recruit over half the new members to its higher civil service from the University of Tokyo alone. Higher educational aspirants were well aware of these patterns and, insofar as they were ambitious, focused their efforts on admission to a well-known university.

The Increasing Numbers Involved Since World War II

The most prominent postwar labor force trend in Japan has been the expansion of the organizational sector, particularly the increase in white collar jobs. In 1950, 4.3 million people, or 11.9 percent of the labor force, were involved in white collar work. By 1970 the figures were 9.9 million and 18.7 percent respectively. Roughly speaking, within twenty years the number of jobs requiring individuals with some level of higher education doubled.[4] The growth in the white collar sector not only signified new jobs, but it also provided a new impetus to the demand for higher education. Because white collar families lacked a family enterprise or property, they depended on education as the sole means of easing their children into adult roles.

The occupation reforms responded to this growing demand for highly educated manpower by extending compulsory education and easing the standards for the establishment of universities. The immediate impact of the reforms was to quadruple the number of university places (a doubling of those applying to all higher educational institutions.)[5]

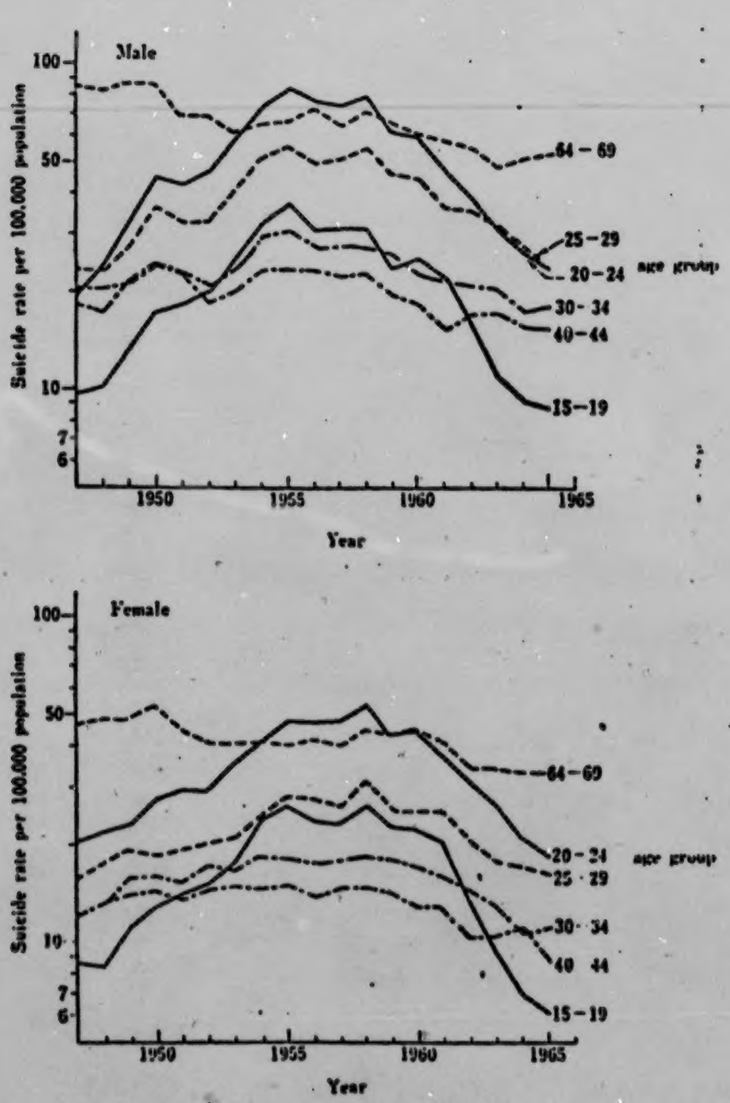
Moreover, the reforms fostered a social situation where a much larger proportion of the population could think of going to a university. Apart from the structural reforms of extending compulsory education, increasing the number of comprehensive high schools that prepare youth for college, and lowering the fees at publicly supported high schools and universities, the shift toward egalitarian education (higher mean level of cognitive performance with less variation) provided more youth with the intellectual resources essential for higher education. This shift achieved much the same result in terms of individual motivation. Finally, economic growth and the trend towards income equality enabled a growing proportion of families to think of sending their children to a university. In 1951, when asked what steps they would take if they had a college age son, only 22 percent of the adult population said they wished to send their son to a university. By 1960, the proportion had risen to 38 percent, and by 1973 it was 70 percent. In addition, with the democratization of sex roles, 53 percent of all adults said they wanted to send their daughter to a university or junior college.[6]

While the Occupation's reforms in 1973 and postwar economic growth have spurred the demand for higher education, they have also created problems. At least in the early postwar period, most parents and their children continued to view higher education as a route towards an elite social position. This view was unrealistic, however: while the organizational sector expanded at a rapid rate, the expansion occurred primarily among lower level jobs in business firms. The government sector has not expanded notably nor have many new positions opened in the higher rungs of the large corporations. Thus, many Japanese youth upon completing their higher education have not found the jobs they expected.

This gap between expectations and realities points to an even more fundamental change effected by the postwar reforms. Whereas, in the old system, the several rungs of exam competition and the economic constraints forced youth to repeatedly assess their prospects for success, the new system removed most of these brakes. Youth could complete the first eight years of school without ever taking an examination. At that stage, admission tests to high school would eliminate some from the competition. Nevertheless, depending on the locale, anywhere from one to two thirds of a cohort could still nurture a dream of making it into a top level university; in the old multi-track system, by the age of fifteen no more than one percent of a cohort could have retained this dream.

It would be difficult to say what proportion of the youth who gained admission to academic high schools nurtured a dream of going to Todai and becoming famous. One suspects that, at least through the early fifties, the proportion was not small. Yet most were destined to fail and be disappointed. The sharp acceleration in the rate of male suicides between 1945 and 1955 for the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups is no doubt related to the disappointment experienced (see Figure 8.1). And the subsequent decline in these suicide rates to the point where they no longer differ much from the rates in other advanced societies suggests that new mechanisms have been instituted which serve to guide and "cool out" many of the overly ambitious youth.

Figure 8.1. Trends in the Suicide Rate in Japan by Age Group and Sex, 1947-1965



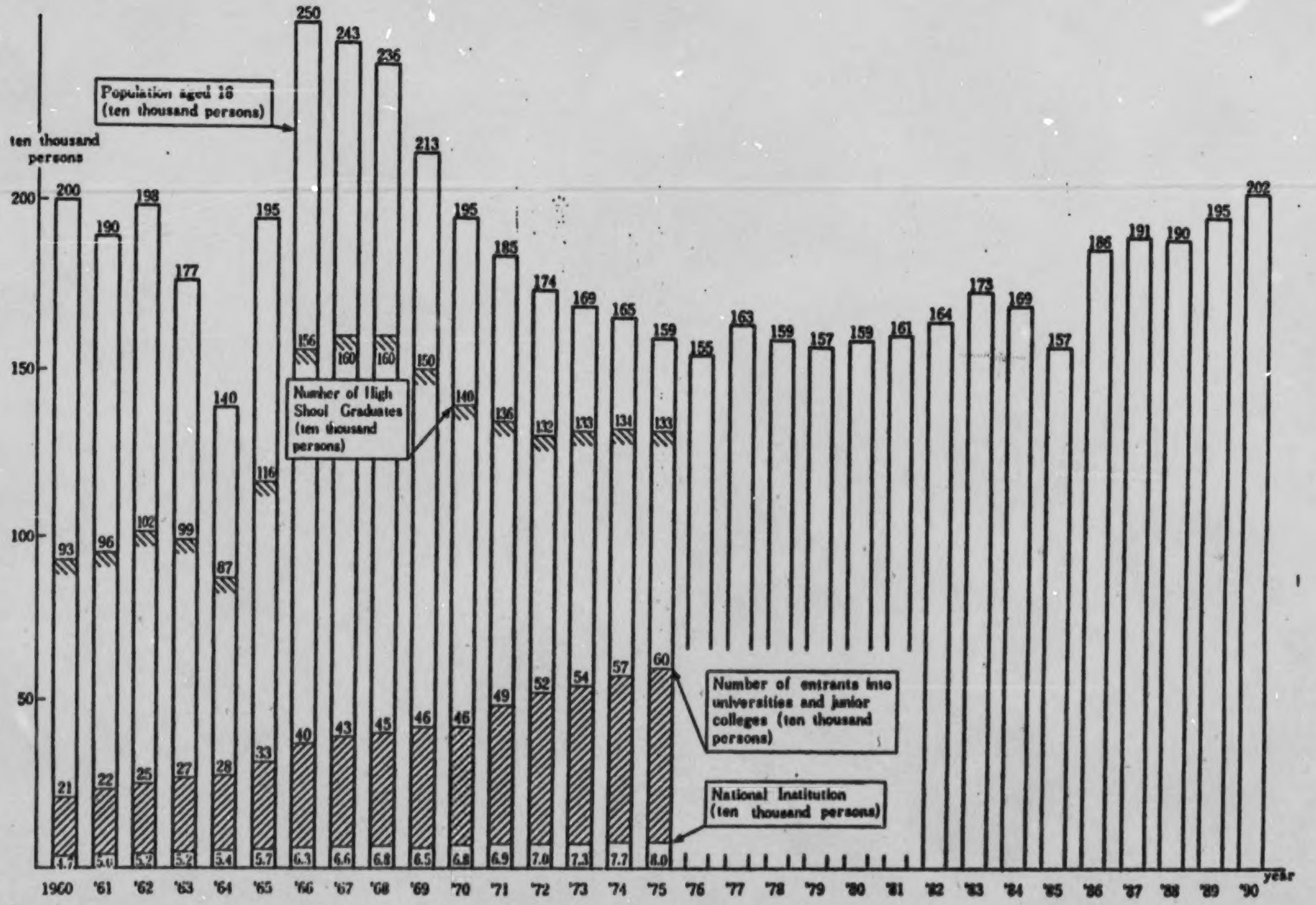
Source: Masaaki Kato, "Self-destruction in Japan: A Cross-Cultural Epidemiological Analysis of Suicide."

Continuation of Strong Demand Through the Sixties

Through the sixties various factors combined to further strengthen the demand for higher education: the growing proportion of each cohort completing high school, the increased affluence of the population enabling a greater proportion of families to finance their children's post-compulsory education and a continuing belief that higher education was a worthwhile investment for subsequent advancement in work. In addition, due to the postwar baby boom, the size of the university aged cohort rapidly increased. The total number eligible to compete for high school entrance leaped 35 percent between 1962 and 1966; three years later the members of this inflated cohort were competing for university entrance. Thus, in the 1960's both the size of the university age cohort and the proportion in that cohort seeking a university education increased. The sharp numerical increase in the demand for higher educational places is indicated in Figure 8.2.

Higher education responded to this demand somewhat. The institutions in the national and public sectors expanded slightly, though this tendency was least evident in the prestigious Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto. In the private sector, many of the established institutions expanded their enrollments, though usually without complementary expansion in fixed facilities.[7] An extreme example is Tokyo Keizai University, which quadrupled its enrollments relative to a fixed faculty size. By 1970, the student-teacher ratio was

Figure 8.2. Size and Distribution of the Higher Education Population



120 to 1. In addition, approximately 20 new private junior colleges and 15 new four-year private universities were established each year during the sixties. By the end of the decade, there were enough places in higher educational institutions to meet the demand; relative to earlier periods, however, a much larger proportion of these places were in private institutions. By 1970, eighty percent of all university places and 790 percent of all junior college places were in private institutions, many of which offered a weak educational program.

Rational Planning of Consumers

The mass media provided the Japanese public with considerable information on the current and prospective developments in education. Moreover, Obonsha, one of the more successful companies which profited off the exam competition by selling exam prep books and its well known college handbook, *Keisetsu Jidai*, began to administer achievement tests on a nationwide basis. These enabled students to find out for a modest fee how they performed vis-a-vis their cohort on the types of questions that they could expect to find on university entrance exams.

While this information no doubt contributed to the sense of frustration with the existing educational system, it also induced parents and children to confront the situation and plan a rational strategy for approaching the entrance exam competition. Expectations were more cautious than in the fifties, and more attention was devoted to alternatives. Assuming that failure at a preferred institution was probable, most ambitious youth applied to three or more alternatives. The increased rationality in the approach to the exam competition surely eased the pain of failure.

Proliferation of Special Routes

Traditionally, there have been special routes open to Japanese families who wished their children to have highest chance of success in the university competition. For those who wished to see their children enter the Imperial University of Tokyo, the most certain and prestigious route involved passing the exams and studying at the First Middle School and the First Higher School, both located in Tokyo. Because of the stature of these schools, families from both local and outlying areas sent their children to compete for entrance. Alternatively, ambitious families might focus on the second or third higher schools of the public sector or certain of the private schools. Gakushuin, the Peer's School, accepted an elite clientele, many of whom went on to pass the exam at the Imperial University. To secure admission to the well-known private universities, parents often sent their children to the attached middle and higher schools. Thus, within the already highly-selected old system, one could find an even more exclusive set of elite tracks towards which the most zealous parents steered their children.

The Occupation reforms, along with eliminating two of the pre-university competitive rungs, also eliminated several of these elite schools, especially those in the public sector. The First Higher School became a part of the University of Tokyo, the Second Higher School was incorporated in Tohoku University, and the Third Higher School was joined with Kyoto University. The private elite schcols remained largely intact. Due to these early postwar changes, zealous parents could not determine which public sector schools were worthwhile and often could not afford the tuition of the private schools. As a result, bright children accompanied the average to the public schools, and the entering classes in elite universities came from a variety of high schools.

With the greater wealth of information available from the late 1950's, zealous parents began to search for special schools and strategies that might provide their children with an advantage. Two time-worn strategies were to hire private tutors and to enroll in a _yobiko_ (preparatory schools); needless to say, both of these institutions have prospered over the postwar period. Today over one-third of the students at such elite universities as Todai and Kyodai have a tutorial job. The most famous _yobiko_ enroll over 20,000 students annually in classes designed exclusively for entrance exam preparation.

Nevertheless, these short-run cram programs were not considered as effective as continuous involvement in a quality day school program such as had formerly been provided by the elite national higher schools. For those with enough money, one of the obvious substitutes for the elite higher schools were the traditional private school systems such as Doshisha in Kyoto or Keio and Aoyama Gakuin in Tokyo. During the fifties, the caliber of students entering these systems and especially their high schools rose. To capitalize on their new attractiveness, many of these schools made efforts to improve their performance in preparing students for the exam competition. The Doshisha provides a representative example. In contrast with its earlier permissive stance, Doshisha began to flunk students in the early fifties who failed to achieve a certain academic level; by eliminating the weaker students, Doshisha's reputation for placing its graduates in good universities was enhanced. Moreover, to reassure anxious parents, Doshisha allowed the top half of the high school senior class to enter one of the system's universities or junior colleges without a regular entrance examination.

Despite these modifications, the broad educational objectives of many of the traditional private schools as well as their complex financial commitments placed limits on their response to the new market. Thus alongside the traditional private schools, several famous exam-oriented private schools began to rise to prominence. The most outstanding example today is Nada High School for Kobe, which has managed year after year to place virtually its entire graduating class in famous universities. Altogether there are a dozen of these schools which, by virtue of their ability to select outstanding students and their freedom to provide accelerated programs--for example, twelfth grade math and science by the end of the ninth grade--push many students towards success in the exams. Because these schools have such excellent educational programs, their students rarely seek the aid of tutors or other examination props and often find the time for extracurricular activities. However, the tuition at several of these schools is steep and admissions highly selective.

Another set of alternatives, where they exist, are the attached schools of national universities. Ostensibly, these attached schools are established to provide a setting for educational experiments. Today, however, they do little experimental work and simply pursue quality education. Blessed with exceptionally talented teachers and budgets several times that of a normal public school, the attached schools achieve exceptional results. Year by year their graduates have improved their position in the exam competition. In the 1976 competition, attached schools ranked second, third, and fourth in terms of the number sent to Todai and fifth and tenth for Kyodai.[8]

These two types of special schools are primarily located in urban areas and, hence, not readily accessible to the majority of Japanese children.[9] Thus, in response to public pressure, local school boards in several prefectures have taken steps to re-structure the public school system in order to help local children prepare for the exams. The usual strategy has been to modify the Occupation's neighborhood school principle (small district system) by grouping several high schools into a "middle" (2-6 schools) or "large" (7 or more) district, and establishing a hierarchy among these schools. At the first school of a given district, a special accelerated program is offered to those students who obtain top grades during their middle school days and excel in the district-wide high school entrance exam. In 1956, only two of Japan's prefectures used the large district, but by 1960 the district was implemented in 17 prefectures. In 1967, 33 prefectures employed this principle.[9]

The Juku Boom

In the case of the attached schools, parents found that planning a child's education began at birth. Many of the attached schools admitted the majority of their students at the kindergarten or primary school level, allowing only modest numbers to transfer in thereafter. Moreover, while the schools were "national" in name, they generally restricted entrance to students living within a certain commuting distance. To overcome these obstacles, interested parents had to locate their home nearby and restrict their mobility until after their children matriculated--a step which no small number actually took.

In contrast, the famous private schools placed fewer non-monetary barriers on entry. Most admitted students by examination at the point of passage from compulsory education (though Azabu Gakuin and Kyodo admit most students at the end of primary school). Also, these schools tended to accept students without regard to residence; in 1976, 61 percent of the students attending LaSalle High School in Kagoshima were from other prefectures, while 26 percent of the students at Azabu Gakuin Middle School came from outside the Tokyo Metropolitan area.

To prepare their children for the exams to these famous schools, many parents have resorted to the same tactics that are already common at the university entrance stage--hiring special tutors and sending their children to special review schools (known as _gakushu juku_).

Another development that has contributed to the consumption of extra-education is the demanding curriculum of public schools. In response both to parental demand for accelerated education and a "scientific" conviction that children were capable of learning more, the central government in 1968 sharply upgraded the difficulty of the curriculum as specified in the Official Course of Study. For example, first year students in Japanese language were now expected to memorize 76 characters, 30 more than before the reform; second year students were expected to know 221, an increase of 70; by the sixth grade, students were expected to memorize 996, 115 more than had been previously required. In math far more difficult problems have come to be assigned after the 1968 reform; as we can see in Table 8.1, these problems easily outdistance those found in a typical American fourth grade text.

While this accelerated curriculum was designed to accommodate the brighter youth, it has proved too challenging

TABLE 8.1

PERCENT OF STUDENTS ATTENDING JUKU BY GRADE LEVEL AND CITY SIZE

	Grade Level Primary School 1	2	3	4	5	6	Middle School 1	2	3
Total	3.3	4.8	7.5	11.9	19.4	26.6	37.9	38.7	37.4
Cities over 100,000	3.7	5.3	8.1	14.6	24.2	33.3	43.9	44.6	45.0
30,000 to 100,000	3.8	4.9	8.4	10.8	16.3	24.8	38.5	39.3	36.6
8,000 to 30,000	1.6	4.1	5.7	7.6	11.6	16.5	29.1	29.6	27.1
Smaller places	1.0	0.4	3.2	2.7	5.3	5.7	13.4	11.9	9.9

Source: Mombusho, zenkoku no Gakushu Juku Kayoi no Jitsuyo (National Pattern of Juku Attendance Interim Report of the 1976 survey). Gyosei, 1977.

for the slow learners. Teachers generally try to pull the slow students along; in some schools, especially those for minority groups, a special program of review classes and supervised study is set up for the evenings. However, given the pace of the officially prescribed curriculum, most teachers find it impossible to reach their entire class. The students who do not learn in school have to learn elsewhere to keep up in the middle and high schools and to compete for university entrance. Their parents, thus, often send them to an extra-school.

The Juku Boom

The intensified exam competition has also led to the establishment of numerous study centers or gakushi juka which many school children attend after completing their normal school routine. For some children, these centers serve as a means to keep up with the normal curriculum. As noted earlier, in 1968 the government added a large amount of material to the already demanding curriculum studied by primary and middle school students. Table 6.1 illustrated the increased complexity of math texts. In Japanese language, the reform increased the number of characters young people were required to memorize: from 40 to 76 by the end of the first year of primary school, from 151 to 221 by the end of the second year, and so on. Similar changes were introduced in other courses. These changes made it impossible for the average student to master the curriculum during normal school hours. Thus many have turned to the juku as an aid in covering the normal curriculum.

In other instances, parents who have special plans for their child's education such as admission to one of the famous private middle or high schools send the child to a _juku_ for special advanced instruction. Some _jukus_ actually specialize in preparing their students for entrance to particular famous schools or universities. An unusual example is one _juku_ which specializes in preparing youngsters to become doctors. This pre-doctor _juku_ attempts not only to provide its charges with the knowledge it will need to pass the exams but also with the mannerisms appropriate to the profession. Thus each day the young students, many of whom are still in primary school, wash their hands upon entrance to the _juku_, don white robes and a stethoscope, and proceed through a routine which may include anything from the review of normal school work to an animal dissection. The typical _juku_ session ends at eight in the evening with the young trainees tired and hungry, just as they can expect to be a few years later if they succeed in becoming an intern at a medical school.[10]

One somewhat sensational article in the Asahi Newspaper reported as follows:

> Extracurricular studying has become an indispensable element in the daily life of today's children. A July 1972 survey of fifth-grade students showed that 80 percent of the boys and 86 percent of the girls were taking outside lessons. It is far from uncommon for a child to be getting extra tutoring on Monday,

Wednesday and Friday, and lessons in painting on Tuesday, piano on Thursday and swimming on Saturday.[11] This particular survey surely overstates the degree of utilization of juku. No other survey, even in the Tokyo area where academic competition is most intense, reports such a high proportion of fifth graders. Moreover, the survey fails to distinguish between participation in exam-oriented activities and others such as piano lessons, calligraphy, judo and so on; indeed only 26 percent of these Tokyo fifth graders were involved in academic extra-lessons. Surveys in other areas report quite diverse proportions.[12] Table 8.2 which presents the results for a national survey conducted by the Ministry of Education suggests the following generalizations on juku attendence:

(1) relatively few students take special studies through the first years of primary school, (2) the number increases to about 25 percent near the completion of primary school in preparation for middle school entrance exams, and (3) once in middle school, the number gradually increases to about 50 percent by the third year in preparation for the high school exams.

Not only are large numbers of children going to juku, but in the last few years it is reported that several thousand have created a new class of ronin. Failing entrance to their preferred high school, these youths have decided to devote another year to preparation rather than settle for a second-class high school. While the institutions today have the same nominal character, they are becoming just as stratified as in the old-system.

Actually, the exact number involved in the Juku and high school ronin phenomena is unimportant. The relevant point is that public opinion believes that the number is astronimical, and that the quality of youthful life is in jeopardy.

The Quality of Adolescent Life

The growing public concern with the examination system is based on the fear that the involvement and competition it generates has caused a decline in the quality of adolescent life. Various sources report the ill effects of the examination system. Young children report being lonely after school because most of their playmates attend a juku. Parents report that their children have become so accustomed to organized activities, whether at the juku or school, they they forget how to play by themselves. Almost 40 percent of all sixth graders now wear glasses--over double the proportion of 20 years ago.

Principals at academic high schools report that many of their club activities have been abandoned by the students. Surveys of youth time budgets indicate a growing amount of time devoted to studies and declining amounts to exercise and leisure. The annual survey of physical health conducted by the Ministry of Health shows that Japanese children are becoming taller and heavier (thanks to improved diet) but have less endurance and strength. One testimony to this decline has been the failure of Japan to win gold medals in the recent international

Olympics, excepting in traditional fields of strength such as judo, women's volleyball, and gymnastics, even though it fields one of the largest teams.

While the exam system is responsible for many of these trends, some qualifications are in order. Some of the trends, such as the growing incidence of myopia and declining physical endurance can be just as easily attributed to other factors: the increasing proportion of youth living in urban settings where physical education facilities are scarce, and the changing quality of the adolescent diet. However, perhaps the most important qualification concerns the relative incidence of these problems.

As we have noted, increased academic competition has resulted in an unofficial re-differentiation of academic tracks. At the top are the famous private and university-attached high schools which select the brightest from each adolescent cohort. The classroom pace at these schools is more accelerated than in the ordinary high schools; yet, because of the intellectual aptitudes of the select students, the pace does not constitute a burden. Moreover, the high quality of the school's education program obviates the need to attend _juku_ or other extra-schooling. Most of these advanced schools have a reasonably active program of club activities, and many of the students in these schools find time to develop rich friendships. The major constraint encountered by the students is the commuting time between home and school: Many spend well over an hour a day on the train. More importantly, the homes of schoolmates are widely dispersed, making weekend visits and summer outings difficult to organize.

Somewhat distinct from the elite track is the large number of lesser private high schools which are attached to, and guarantee their graduates entrance into second class private universities. At these high schools one is also likely to find an active club life. Indeed, some promote this aspect of their program through the active recruitment of outstanding athletes and the energetic support of sports. This is done in an effort to attract new students and thus insure a large enough student body to enable the school to cover its costs.

The second major track which remains relatively sheltered from the exam system pressure is the vocational high school system. Technical colleges which combine three years of high school and two years of college may be included in this group. Once a student enters a school in this group, he essentially removes himself from the competition for higher education. Most of these vocationally oriented schools also maintain a vigorous club system which manages to involve many of their students.[13]

Apart from the above groups, there remains the much larger group of public and private academic-oriented high schools. It is on the students of these institutions that the academic pressure has largely fallen. Two decades ago, when academic competion was not so intense, students in the academic courses of public schools were able to enjoy a full school life, devoting energy to both their studies and a wide variety of school club activities. The athletic clubs thrived, even at the academically oriented high schools, and in the national meets they were often able to meet the competition. The baseball teams of public academic high schools won or placed on several occasions in the national finals. However, beginning in the 1960's, the teams from vocationally oriented schools, especially the commercial schools, rose to dominate the national competition. Similarly, the industrial high schools emerged to dominate the national soccer competition.[14] The youth at the public academic high schools, while possibly still capable of training to a competitive level, no longer felt they could devote the time. An hour of sports meant an hour away from the books. The increasing academic competition has gradually eroded the extra-curriculum of the public academic high schools.[15]

Equality of Educational Opportunity

The exam system is much maligned because of the great pressure placed on Japanese youth to study long hours and on Japanese parents to spend heavily on their children's preparation. While the exam system fosters inegalitarian tendencies, it is also important to note its fundamental egalitarian nature. The single criterion of admission to a preferred school is examination performance; a student's background and wealth are of little importance. At the elite institutions there are no exceptions. The exceptions only begin to occur as the fame of a school declines.

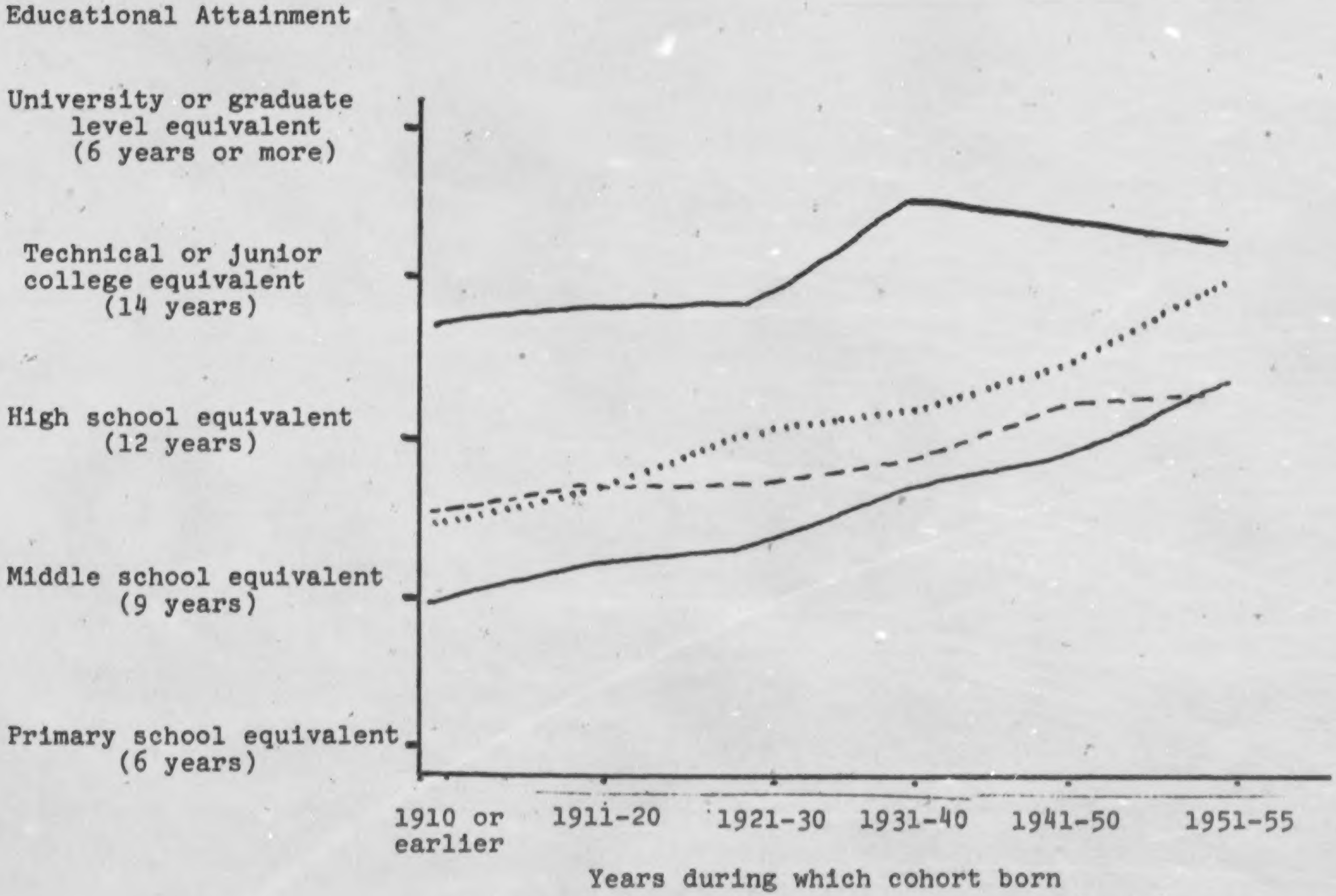
In contrast with Japan's rigidly universalistic admissions standards, standards elsewhere are tempered by money and influence. In America, for example, a generous contributor to Harvard can expect that his child will be admitted, even if not fully qualified. The Ivy League schools promise to accept a certain number of graduates from the New England preparatory schools, even if these applicants do not measure up to all the admission standards. These practices are maintained to preserve the character, not to speak of the endowments, of America's great private universities and colleges. Some say that America can afford this small degree or particularism because universalism is firmly institutionalized in most of its social institutions. Nevertheless, these practices contradict the claim that everyone is equal in America. The elite public schools of the U.K. provide an even more conspicious example of particularistic gate-keeping.

Government leaders in Japan point with pride to the universalistic character of their exam system, suggesting it as a guarantee of equal opportunity. In this vein, a recent White Paper prepared by the Economic Planning Agency's Bureau on the Quality of National Life drew on social mobility surveys conducted in several advanced societies to demonstrate that Japan's elite class is the most open of all.[16] However, this particular analysis, and for that matter the entire question of equality of opportunity in Japan, needs to be subjected to more rigorous analysis. Restricting ourselves here to the question of equality of educational opportunity, the following observations seem appropriate.

1. One issue concerning equal educational opportunity is the total number of places that have become available for young people in the educational system relative to the total number of young people. From this point of view, the Japanese system has become progressively more equal. Since World War II, it has provided sufficient places to educate all youth for nine full years of basic compulsory education. Moreover, the number of places for high school and university education have steadily increased, so that by 1975, 92 percent of all high school age youth and 38 percent of all college age youth were enrolled in the respective schools. In terms of provisions for attendance, contemporary Japanese education may provide greater opportunity than any other system in the world. Also, the average number of years of school attendance for Japanese adults is among the highest in the world.

2. A second issue is the extent to which children from different social backgrounds are equally successful in taking advantage of the available opportunity. Until recently, governments did not collect data relevant to this question, making it difficult to arrive at a very satisfactory answer. However, we may address the question from a longitudinal perspective by examining age group data from social mobility surveys. In the 1975 national mobility survey, age groups are sufficiently large to provide reasonable approximations to successive cohorts born from the turn of the century to 1951-55.

Figure 8.3. Mean Educational Attainment by Cohort Age Groups for Four Occupational Classifications Tabulated for Japanese Males of 1975



In Figure 8.3 we present our estimates of average level of educational attainment (calculated on a scale from 0 for no school to 5 for university attendance) over time by father's background. We might first point out the steady increase in the average educational attainment for each successive cohort: the oldest cohort, born 1910 or earlier, had an average educational attainment equivalent to today's middle school level (approximately nine years); the youngest cohort, born between 1951-1955, had an average attainment somewhat in excess of the high school level (approximately 13 years).

The relative attainment of and gains in educational level varied widely by social class of origin. Children of elites have always been the best educated and thus have had little room for further gains. Those born 1910 or earlier attained, on the average, somewhat more than a high school education (approximately 13 years); the youngest elite group born 40-45 years later have only improved on this average attainment by approximately 1½ years. The numbers in the sample with elite backgrounds were comparatively few, however, so percentage figures are potentially misleading.

In contrast, children from manual backgrounds born at the turn of the century obtained on the average a middle school education with only 16.7 percent attending a higher educational institution. While the opportunities for educational upgrading were available to this class, relatively few took advantage of them. Neither their average level of educational attainment (middle school for the oldest cohort,

TABLE 8.2

CLASS BACKGROUND

Cohort Birth Period	Elite	White Collar	Manual	Farm	Total
1910 or earlier	500*	7.6 (3.8)	16.7 (0.0)	7.2 (1.8)	10.0 (4.4)
1911-1920	46.1 (26.9)	11.3 (6.5)	18.8 (0.0)	6.4 (1.9)	12.3 (5.0)
1921-1930	44.2 (34.9)	24.8 (11.1)	9.1 (3.0)	5.3 (0.9)	15.1 (7.4)
1931-1940	70.2 (68.1)	16.0 (15.3)	11.1 (9.5)	9.0 (7.0)	16.9 (15.3)
1941-1950	63.8 (61.7)	25.7 (2.4)	20.4 (16.3)	7.2 (4.0)	20.1 (17.1)
1951-1955	58.6 (58.6)	50.0 (44.3)	20.6 (16.2)	24.2 (11.7)	35.4 (30.6)

*For the oldest cohort there was one or two cases with elite background and both went to universities yielding an actual figure of 100.0%. However, a 1965 national survey indicated % for cohort so we have an 50.0% as a reasonable estimate.

high school for the youngest--a gain of only 2 years of school attendance) nor the proportion attending higher educational institutions (16.7 percent for the oldest cohort, 20.6 percent for the youngest) showed notable improvement.

Relative to the children from manual families, those from farm backgrounds have made somewhat greater advances. In fact, starting from lower levels on both indicators, farm children have surpassed blue collar children in average level of educational attainment and proportion going on to a higher educational institution. However, the gains for the children from white collar backgrounds are the most impressive of all. Whereas only 7.6 percent of the oldest cohort attended a higher educational institution, the proportion rose to 50.0 percent for the most recent cohort. Simultaneously, the average educational attainment increased from slightly more than the middle school level (about 10 years) to just below junior college level (nearly 14 years).

Thus, looking at long-term trends in educational attainment we find significant differentials in the extent to which specific classes have responded to the increasing availability of educational opportunities. The gap separating the elite children from the rest has narrowed somewhat. On the other hand, the gap between white collar and blue collar children has considerably widened while that between white collar and farm children has increased somewhat. Other data not presented here indicates that the children from modern-sector, white-collar managerial and professional homes have made the greatest gains in their educational attainment.

3. Behind the high educational attainment of elite children and the rapid gains of children from white collar homes is the exceptional strength of familial support. A number of small-scale studies show how such support motivates children from these backgrounds with only average ability to continue school, while more talented children from farm and blue-collar backgrounds forego further education. As one illustration, Ushiogi et al identify those factors associated with dropping out after middle school in rural Gifu prefecture.[17] In the year of this study, 1972, only 14.3 percent of all middle school graduates decided to forego further study; children from agricultural and blue-collar backgrounds predominated among those with low grades and those who dropped out. However, focusing only on those with respectable grade averages of 3.0 or above, we find a definite bias for upper class children to persevere while lower class children drop out--10.3 percent for children from farm homes and 8.4 percent for blue collar children compared to 1.7 and .4 percent for white collar and managerial children respectively. On the other hand, 76.9 percent of white collar children with low grades went on to high school, whereas only 57.4 percent of the blue collar children with low grades continued. These class effects, which are independent of demonstrated ability, become even more exaggerated at the stage of university entrance. Clearly, something the upper classes provide their children with compensates for ability, even in an educational system where ability is said to be the sole criterion for success.

We may recall our earlier discussion at the end of Chapter Six concerning the nature of Japan's universalistic exams. We suggested there that success in these exams depend as much on effort as ability. Unquestionably, upper class families can provide their children with the quality of home circumstances most conducive to systematic and undisturbed study in preparation for the exams; also, upper class families are better able to afford tutors and other educational aids. In contrast, children from lower class homes fell much greater pressure to either excell in school or leave. They cannot afford the time to devote themselves to the advanced study often required for entrance exam success. Thus, they tend to withdraw even when they have ability.

4. While the discussion thus far has focused on general trends in educational attainment, it is also important to consider the class trends in entrance to the small group of elite educational institutions (especially the University of Tokyo) that are believed to constitute the gateways to distinguished careers in public service, big business and the professions. While educational opportunities in general have rapidly expanded over the postwar period, the size of many of these elite gateway institutions has remained relatively constant. The Law Faculty of Tokyo University, the most elite among the elite paths, has increased its number of places for entering students by only 20 percent over the postwar period. The University of Tokyo as a whole has expanded by only 50

percent, and much of this growth has been in the technological specialties which normally do not lead to elite careers. Other elite universities, especially in the private sector, have expanded at faster rates. Still, as a general statement, it is correct to say that the number of openings at the top has increased but slowly, whereas the number of aspirants has rapidly expanded. Perhaps the most important question in a consideration of Japan's educational opportunity is who wins in the competition for these elite university places.

There are obvious reasons why the children of the privileged classes should achieve the highest rates of success in this competition. It is generally regared that the consumption of various forms of extra-education, such as attendance at juku, special high schools, yobiko, and lessons from household tutors, aids in the preparation for the difficult entrance exams of the elite universities. However, these extra-educational programs are not cheap, and their price tags have actually increased at a faster rate than average gains in the standard of living. A recent publication reports the following amounts that parents (in 1976) had to pay to get their children into several of the better known private schools: Y740,600 (about $2469) at Tamagawa Gakuin; Y695,500 ($2318) at Ueno Gakuen; and Y665,700 ($2219) at Azabu Gakuen.[18] Monthly fees and tuition at these schools run around Y30,000 (about $100) or something like one-fourth of the average monthly family income in Japan. Admittedly, other schools are not so expensive. Nada and Koyo, two of the outstanding, charge about half as much; still, this is a substantial sum.

Clearly not all families are able or willing to afford these avenues. Local areas differ widely in the average amount families pay for these services. Looking only at payments for tutors and academic juku, we find that the 1972 average in Wakayama (Y9713) was 16 times the average in Fukushima (Y620).[19] In general, the average was highest in the more central cities and those places noted for their educational zealotry such as Tokushima. This trend would be more sharply indicated by expenditures for private middle and high schools, which tend to be located in and receive students from the large urban areas.

There are also substantial differences by parental income and status. Expenditures tend to increase with income. Roughly the same trend exists for status; however, it is the highly educated families who depend on salaries for their income, rather than the self-employed and the independently wealthy, who spend the greatest proportions of their income for education.[20] These families are especially zealous, for they realize that their children's access to the career lines that will maintain the family's social status depends on educational success.

While the famous private middle and high schools use universalistic exams to select entrants, the high tuitions they charge tend to restrict the range of applicants. Within this limited group, parental income is associated with extra-schooling and preparation for entrance examinations. The famous schools no longer officially realise information on student backgrounds, but reports from the independent weeklies suggest they admit a highly select group. For example, one weekly reports that over 25 percent of the third year students at LaSalle Middle School were the children of medical doctors. The same article indicates that the fathers of over half the students at Azabu Gakuen were either managers or bureau chiefs of private companies, while another 15 percent had fathers in the higher civil service.[21]

Turning to the university level, there is rather clear evidence that a growing proportion of students come from higher income groups, despite the fact that the university system has vastly expanded over the past two decades. In the national sector, which charges a modest tuition and includes many of the best-known institutions, the proportion of students with family incomes in the upper two-fifth's increased from 45 to 58 percent between 1961-74 (Table 8.3). Moreover, data released by the University of Tokyo indicate that a growing proportion of its entering student body comes from high status families. (See Table 8.4). The most notable trends are the increases in the proportion from the homes of private sector executives (from 3 to 6 percent between 1959-70) and private sector "employees" (from 31 to 39 percent); in 1970, two thirds of these employees were managers.

Since 1970 the university has not officially released data on the social background of its entering students, but the newsweeklies have conducted their independent surveys, and these suggest a continuation of the above trends. One weekly said that 17 percent of the entering 1976 class came from families

TABLE 8.3

The Percentage of All Students from Each of Five Strata of Households based on Income Differences. (Each strata represents 20 percent of all households in Japan.)

A. National Universities	1961	1965	1970	1974
I (lowest income)	19.7)	16.3)	17.3)	14.4)
	39.9	31.4	31.2	25.6
II	20.2)	15.1)	13.9)	11.2)
III	15.4	18.6	17.7	16.0
IV	18.5)	22.5)	21.2)	24.3)
	44.7	50.1	50.4	58.4
V (highest income)	26.2)	27.6)	29.2)	34.1)
B. Private Universities				
I	6.4)	4.8)	5.8)	6.1)
	15.6	11.6	11.9	12.6
II	9.2)	6.8)	6.1)	6.5)
III	12.3	11.1	13.3	11.6
IV	19.2)	20.9)	22.3)	21.2)
	72.1	77.3	74.8	75.8
V	52.9)	56.4)	52.5)	54.6)
C. Total All Four Year Universities				
I	11.0)	8.3)	8.5)	8.0)
	24.1	18.7	16.5	15.5
II	13.1)	10.4)	8.0)	7.5)
III	13.5	13.4	14.4	12.6
IV	19.1)	21.7)	22.0)	21.8)
	62.3	67.9	69.0	71.9
V	43.2)	46.2)	47.0)	50.1)

Source: Mombushō Gakusei Seikatsu Chosa reported in Kosei Hōdō published monthly by the Gakusei Hōdōka of the Mombushō).

TABLE 8.4

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE FATHERS OF UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO STUDENTS, 1959-70

(%)

Occupations Groups	1959	1961	1962	1964	1965	1967	1970
Salaried employees in public service	24	26	28	28	22	23	22
Managers						15	15
Non-managerial						8	7
Salaried employees in private enterprise	31	34	32	31	34	35	39
Managers					19	25	26
Non-managerial					15	10	13
Small business owners, executives	18	18	15	17	18	17	14
Large and medium business executives	3	2	3	6	5	4	6
Self-employed	10	7	9	8	10	9	10
Agriculture	5	5	5	3	3	6	3
Other	9	8	8	7	8	6	6

Source: Tokyo-daigaku-kōseika, Keizai seikatsu no ryūnen henka: 1958-1970 (Trend analysis of the economic conditions of student life: 1958-70).

whose head was a company president; and an additional 26 percent were from private sector managerial families. Only two percent had fathers in agriculture and not even one percent were from blue-collar families.[22] Needless to say, the trend towards higher social status backgrounds among University of Tokyo students cannot be dismissed as some simple function of an upgraded occupational system. While it is difficult to determine the exact magnitude of the trend, it is evident that the intensified educational competition of the postwar period has led to less equality of opportunity to gain access to the most prominent high schools and universities.

The Examination System and the Egalitarian Sentiment

The apparent trend away from equal educational opportunities is a matter of considerable interest; yet, in terms of our broader thesis linking education to equality, it is beside the point. The real issue concerning the examination system is its effect on the way Japanese youth think. Does participation in the system reinforce or erode the egalitarian sentiment?

In considering this question, it is important to emphasize some obvious aspects of the Japanese school system. Virtually all Japanese youth attend public primary schools, where egalitarian education is most intensively provided. For most youth, the efforts and "lessons" of the exam system, which are experienced by growing numbers of students, do not begin to be experienced until the last year of middle school. The priority of egalitarian education would suggest that it plays a fundamental role in socialization. Of course, immediately after World War II, egalitarian education was not that widespread in the primary schools. However, as egalitarian education has become more typical, its impact on the socialization of youth naturally has become more pervasive.[23]

To some degree, the extensive postwar participation in the examination system can be attributed to egalitarian education. Egalitarian education has provided a greater proportion of adolescents with the cognitive and motivational resources to continue school beyond the compulsory level. At the same time, it can be asked whether extensive participation in the exam preparation leads to the acquisition of values that run contrary to the moral component conveyed by egalitarian education.

Finally, in a consideration of the exam system's effects, it is important to distinguish between lessons taught by Japanese education in general and those taught by the exam system. By comparative standards, Japanese youth tend to have an exceptional ability for concentration, for attending to detail, and for discipline. While these traits are reinforced by the exam system, it should be appreciated that they are first developed in primary school. The basic issue concerns not these traits, but rather the extent to which the exam system encourages the individualistic competitive orientation (outlined at the beginning of this chapter) and weakens youth's commitment to equality.

If growing participation in the exam system leads growing numbers of adolescents to internalize individualistic competitive values, several consequences should follow. These include: widespread experience of a sense of personal failure and hence presumably a growing incidence of suicides; participation in "worthless" activities such as delinquency; and a growing divergence in the ways of thinking between those who succeed and those who fail, especially with respect to feelings of elitism, attitudes about welfare, and related egalitarian items. However, there is little evidence of the predicted outcomes.

We have already noted the significant downturn in adolescent suicides since 1955. Moreover, by the seventies only a fraction of such suicides could be related to problems in school or examination performance. The more typical causes were alienation, mental illness, and quarrels with parents or friends.[24] The single development consistent with the predictions from the individualistic competitive model is the recent rise in the incidence of pre-teen suicides, a growing (though still small) proportion of which is caused by anxiety over admission to middle school.

In a discussion of these trends, Kato notes Henry and Short's famous hypothesis of an inverse relation between suicide and homicide and suggests that adolescent aggression in Japan may be turning outwardly from self destruction towards acts against others.[25] Indeed, from the mid-fifties through the mid-sixties, there was a steady increase in various juvenile delinquency rates which some observers link to the exam system.

However, they do not suggest that increased delinquency is a displacement of the earlier individualistic tendency towards self-destruction. Iwai presents several suggestive quotes from delinquents he interviewed: One 16-year old delinquent said:

> "School is useless. All they teach is how to study; they are not interested in anything else".
>
> Another boy: "My family is poor, and won't let me go on school outings. This makes me ashamed in front of my classmates. My parents couldn't care less about school. I'm stupid, so whatever I do I get into trouble with the teachers. I don't like being the underdog, so I take it out on the people around me. I was being determined not to be looked down and that made me this way."
>
> An 18-year old member of a group which had been threatening people in the street explained his feelings thus: "I was caught, but I don't regret what I did in the least. The others in my school will graduate, move up to higher schools, and give themselves a foundation for going out into the world. Because I've come straight out into the world I don't count for anything. So I get together with my friends and push people around. Hard, sharp and quick, that's how I feel."[26]

What we gain from these quotes is the impression that youths turn to delinquency out of a sense of generalized frustration with the examination system and the ways in which it constrains and directs their daily routine. Moreover, some youth seem to believe that through delinquency they can demonstrate equality with those who do well in school:

> The others in my class spend all their time working; I've no hope of catching up with them. But I do have some pride. If I can, I want to be able to talk to them as equals in some way or other. So I decided that if I couldn't do it by being as clever, I'll do it by being as strong as they were.[27]

The Iwai report suggests that dissatisfaction with school and the exam system is a minority feeling and that such dissatisfaction is a factor in delinquency. While this interpretation may have been appropriate up to the mid-sixties, it has since become dated.

On the one hand, we find since 1965 that the delinquency rate in Japan has declined, and that there is no longer a clear association between delinquency and school performance (or with most of the other structural variables normally associated with delinquency such as broken family and impoverished home).[28] On the other hand, adolescent dissatisfaction with the examination system has become much more widespread and seems now to be essentially unrelated to school performance. In Table 8.5, we present the cross-tabulations between educational attainment and attitudes to the exam system for youth aged 18-24 in 1974, reported in a survey by the Japanese Prime Minister's Office. Seven-tenths of all youth agree that "present day schools tend to evaluate students merely on the basis of examination results

TABLE 8.5

JAPANESE YOUTH, REGARDLESS OF THEIR EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, BEAR SIMILAR ATTITUDES TO THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

	Japanese Youth, Educational Attainment			
	Middle School	High School	Higher Ed.	Total
Schools overemphasize exams relative to human qualities	74.1	71.0	73.2	71.4
Regardless of qualifications, the social prestige of one school counts more	66.4	61.5	66.2	63.2

Source: Sorifu (Prime Minister's Office), Sekai Seinen Ishiki Chosa Hokokusto (Report on the International Survey of the Consciousness of Youth).

and give little attention to their human qualities" and that "it is accepted by most people that regardless of your qualifications, the social prestige of the school you graduate from will influence your job opportunities and future." There is virtually no variation by level of schooling in the pattern of response to these questions. In addition, 46 percent of all Japanese students express dissatisfaction with their school experience. This same survey was administered to youth in ten other nations, and in no other instance was the level of dissatisfaction so high. These feelings are even common among those who excel in the examination system, perhaps more so. Orihara Hiroshi, based on his experience teaching entering students at the University of Tokyo, concludes there are two reactions to the exam system. The positive reactions, which are in the minority and are found mainly in the famous high schools, are consistent with the individualistic competitive model: they include feelings of "fulfillment" from the exam preparation, "joy" from improved class ranking, and "superiority" in admission to Todai. More common are the negative reactions where exam preparation is viewed as a "miserable experience I'd just as soon forget--the sooner the better."[29] Or as another student puts it:

?

> Tests, tests, tests...They have dominated our student days. They have kept us from taking the time to think about our society or the meaning of our own lives... Preparation for the college entrance exam has been a jealous mistress robbing us of the time to think about these problems. And even what we should have been able

to regard as a haven from this robbery--our homeroom--was never a place where we could fully relate to each other as human beings. An education stressing competition and inculcating false values, has, unawares, created a kind of person who thinks only of himself and is uninterested in others.[30]

It would seem difficult using the individualistic competitive model to account for the growing sense of dissatisfaction or explain why the feeling is equally shared by those who succeed and fail. Also, insofar as this dissatisfaction is individually experienced, we might expect it to be accompanied by an increased tendency towards individualized reactions. But, as we have already noted, the most extreme form of individual reaction, self-destruction, has significantly declined. And, following a gradual increase up to 1965, the milder form of juvenile delinquency has also declined.

Of course, we should not neglect the impact of recent structural developments: the increased availability of information, the elaboration of less demanding options after high school, and the growing rationality of individual approaches to the exams. These may help to limit the mounting competitive pressure, but they hardly seem sufficient to account for the reversal in the suicide and delinquency trends.

It would seem that the egalitarian sentiment is the crucial factor underlying these reversals. As we have noted, egalitarian education was first introduced after World War II.

In the beginning egalitarian education was not that widely understood or practiced, but with time it became more systematized. Presumably its success in inculcating the egalitarian sentiment also became more widespread. This sentiment instructed youth to view the examination experience not in terms of individual success or failure but rather as a channel into different adult paths. Youth's response gradually shifted from individualized frustration to collective protest.

The major youth development after 1965 was widespread student revolt at institutions of all quality levels, but especially at the better known national and private universities. By the end of the revolt, even some groups of young blue collar workers were involved. The revolt focused on a great diversity of issues, but according to Michio Nagai, its major concern was with the university system and all it stood for.[31]

In youth's reaction, we witness the powerful influence of the egalitarian sentiment. Both those who succeeded and failed by conventional standards were saying they resented this educational process which forced them into different strata of the adult world. They wanted it terminated. If necessary, they were willing to destroy adult society in order to build a new social structure consistent with their egalitarian values. And by the late sixties, youth felt their movement had gone a considerable distance towards the realization of this revolutionary goal. Ultimately, of course, the authorities were able to break the back of the student revolt and return the campuses to their normal routine. However, there is little evidence that the basic dissatisfactions of youth have dissipated since then.

Insofar as our interpretation of recent events is well founded, it casts serious doubt on the individualistic competitive model. Of course, we would not go so far as to dismiss the model altogether. Clearly, there still remain a minority of youth who remain positive to the examination system and the lessons it teaches. But for the majority, the following orientation is more characteristic.

> Broadly speaking, there are two ways to study for the exams. One is to be conscious of the countless other students throughout the country involved in the same struggle; then you have to picture yourself competing with them. The other is to perceive the exams as your personal enemy and make up your mind to expend every effort on preparing to conquer the foe; then you have to resign yourself to the results. I fit more or less into the latter category.[32]

This student has come to realize the success that can be obtained through the exam system. For him, and apparently for a growing proportion of Japanese youth, this success is not worth the high price; they can be content with less in the material world so long as it provides the opportunity for personal growth and challenge.[33] If they are fortunate enough to succeed, they will feel pleased but not necessarily superior; some will even feel guilty of having made it whereas others who seemed to be more qualified failed.

Of course, more than egalitarian education lies behind youth's new preference for personal growth over worldly success.

It is important to recall some of the changes in family structure and child-rearing mentioned in Chapter Four. From these, we might expect that children are becoming more autonomous and hence analytical about their motivations. This has helped them to appreciate the extent to which they are being pushed into the exam system by external as opposed to internal motivational forces - by the influence of parents primarily and that of peers secondarily. Growing numbers of youth are beginning to acknowledge that college and fame are not goals they themselves have decided on. This realization allows them to accept failure more easily.[34]

FOOTNOTES

[1] Thomas Rohlen, who has been conducting a field study of several Kobe high schools, was especially generous and helpful with his comments. Table 8.4 is identical to one he is publishing in "Equality of Educational Opportunity in Japan?" Journal of Japanese Studies.

[2] Preferential budgeting is discussed and strongly condemned in Oecd Board of Examiners, Reviews of National Policies for Education: Japan, 1971.

[3] Shimizu Yoshihiro. Shiken (Examinations), p. 123.

[4] Ohashi, Nihon no Kaikyu Kozo (The Japanese Class System), p. ; we have updated with 1970 figures from the National Census.

[5] This point was first made by Herbert Passin in "The Legacy of the American Occupation."

[6] Kojima, Kazuto Sengo Seronshi (Postwar Trends in Public Opinion), p. 83.

[7] For a discussion of the private sector's response, see William K. Cummings, "The Japanese Private University."

[8] "Toritsuko de Yonko dake ya Todai Riisu in Kachi Nokotte-ira" (only four public high schools remain among the top ten training entrants fro the University of Tokyo), Shukan Asahi, April 9, 1976, p. 131.

[9] Sasaki Susumu. Koko Kyoiku Ron (Thoughts on High School Education), p. 58.

Still, the reputation of these schools is such that many parents from distant places send their children to sit for the entrance exams. An annual chartered flight takes children from

Hokkaido, Japan"s northernmost island, to sit for the exam of Nada high school - located 800 miles distant. In 1976, 61% of the students attending LaSalle High School of Kagoshima, a city located on the southern tip of Kyushu island came from a different part of Japan. See "Shiritsu Yumei Ko no Fukei Shirabe" (Investigation of the Parental Background of Children in Famous Private Schools). Shukan Asahi, March 23, 1967, p. 153.

[10] This particular example was reported in one of the newspapers in 1976. For an evaluation of the accelerated school curriculum, see the Japan Teacher's Association survey reported in Kyoiku Hyoron, July 15, 1976.

[11] Asahi Shinbunsha, Ima Shogakko de, Vol. I. Translated as "Teachers, Children, and School," Japan Interpreter, Spring, 1974, pp. 1-14.

[12] There does appear to be a systematic bias depending on who conducts the survey. Surveys by governmental bodies, anxious to calm public fears, tend to report low figures for juku participation whereas P.T.A. and Teacher Union sponsored surveys report high figures.

[13] However, the students in vocational schools tend to have higher delinquency rates. In part this can be explained in terms of background factors such as coming from a low income home or a broken family. However, frustration related to reduced opportunities for achievement also must play an important role.

[14] For trends in these sports events, see Michiya Shinbori et al. Nihon no Kyoiku Chizu: Taiiku Spootsu (Sports and Gymnastics in the Japanese Schools.)

[15] The mass media accounts which we have summarized are quick to point to these negative consequences stemming from the increased proportions of young people participating in the exam competition. However, there is a positive side which most critics grudgingly acknowledge. The involvement of youth in exam preparation keeps them "out of trouble." Also, it is often maintained that the disciplined preparation builds character. Finally, while youth have to sacrifice in order to prepare for the exams, once they succeed in gaining entrance to a university, they can look forward to several years of leisurely student life.

[16] See Economic Planing Agency. *White Paper on National Life*, 1974, pp. 175-176..

[17] Morikazu Ushiogi et al. "Koko Fushingakusha Hassei no Mecanisumu: Gifu-Ken no Jikei Kenkyu" (The Process of Deciding to Forego High School in Gifu-ken).

[18] "Shiritsu Koko wa 40-manen Jidai" (Private Schools are Charging over 400,000 yen), *Asahi Shinbun*, Feb. 7, 1976.

[19] Government Statistics.

[20] According to one report, some white collar parents spend from 30-40 percent of their income on their children's education; see Tsuru Hiroshi. *Kokosei no Seikatsu to Shinri* (Life and Psychology of High School Students), p. 164.

[21] See footnote 9.

[22] "Todai 50 nendo no Fukei no Shokugyoto Kazoku no Kyoiku Kankyo" (The Family Background and Educational Preparation of Students Who Passed the 1975 University of Tokyo Entrance Exam). *Shukan Gendai*, April 8, 1976, pp. 34ff.

[23] Those who succeed in the exam competition are just as likely to have been exposed to the public school's egalitarian education as those who fail. Noritsugu Ishido, a graduate student at Kyoto University and my assistant, investigated the school histories of Kyoto University's Class of 1979 and found that 95 percent had attended a public primary school, 75 percent a public middle school, and 71 percent a public high school. Excepting the middle school statistic, these figures closely correspond to those for the overall national same-age cohort.

[24] Suicides by cause are reported in

[25] Masaaki Kato, "Self-destruction in Japan: A Cross-Cultural Epidemiological Analysis of Suicide," p. 374.

[26] Hiroaki Iwai, "Delinquent groups and Organized Crime," p. 387.

[27] Ibid.

[28] For recent trends in delinquency, Japan Institute of International Affairs, White Papers of Japan 1973-74, p. 154.

[29] Orihara Hiroshi, "Test Hell" and Alienation, A Study of Tokyo University Freshmen," p. 235.

[30] Ibid., p. 229.

[31] This is a personal communication which I have summarized in "The Crisis of Japanese Higher Education." Minerva.

[32] Orihara, op. cit., p. 235.

[33] Surveys repeatedly indicate that Japanese youth report they look to education primarily for self-cultivation and other intrinsic rewards; career goals are far down the list on their priorities.

[34] Taking a view point similar to this, Christie Kiefer portrays the exam system as a separation ritual. It teaches youth that the adult world and the world of their homes operate on different principles, the one "dry" and demanding and the other "wet" and supporting. See, Christie W. Kiefer, "The Psychological Interdependence of Family, School, and Bureaucracy in Japan."

CHAPTER NINE

EQUALIZING SOCIETY

Our analysis up to this point has established that the schools, in conjunction with other socialization agents, are creating a new youth. A growing proportion of young people affirm individualistic, egalitarian, and participatory values that clash with the traditional expectations of Japan's adult institutions.

There can be little doubt that Japan's young people experience difficulty in adjusting to the adult world. This is illustrated in a 1973 survey (conducted by Gallup International) of representative samples of youth in eleven societies. On each relevant question (see Table 9.1) Japanese youth were far more likely to express dissatisfaction than the youth of other societies. Japanese youth are especially outspoken on the questions relating to adult institutions: 88.5 per cent of the Japanese youth said their "country does not sufficiently protect the rights and welfare of the people" compared with only 54.4 per cent for the youth of economically distressed England who were the second most discontent. Similarly, 73.5 per cent of the Japanese youth said they were dissatisfied with society compared to only 35.7 per cent for the American youth who were second. While the differences were not as great, Japanese youth were also the most disgruntled about their employment, their schools, and even their family life.

If there is any doubt about the reliability of these comparisons, one need only consider the Japanese "student revolt of

TABLE 9.1

A COMPARISON OF THE PROPORTION OF DISSATISFIED JAPANESE YOUTH WITH THE PROPORTION IN OTHER ADVANCED SOCIETIES

Question	% Japanese Youth Dissatisfied	Country with Next Highest % Dissatisfied	
Dissatisfaction with nation's provision for the rights and welfare of the people:	88.5%	54.4%	England
Dissatisfaction with society:	73.5	35.7	U.S.
Dissatisfaction with school:	45.2	29.0	France
Dissatisfaction with employment:	40.0	24.8	France
Dissatisfaction with family life:	30.6	10.9	France
Dissatisfaction with friends:	15.8	8.0	France

the late sixties. It was surely the longest, most disruptive to society, and most violent of all youth disturbances experienced in advanced nations at that time.[1] The intensity of the Japanese revolt is a reflection of the dissatisfaction registered in the Gallup youth survey.

What becomes of youth as they move into the adult institutions? Several possible outcomes can be imagined: (1) the youth, once they experience adult society, "convert" to the adult values; (2) the youth stick with their adolescent values, but outwardly conform to the norms of adult society; (3) adult society transforms its structures in order to accomodate the new youth.

Several of the better-known English language studies of youth's transition to adulthood have minimized the frustration the young experience or treated this as a passing phenomena. James Abegglen, in the Japanese Factory, devoted detailed attention to the recruitment and training programs of employers without ever seriously investigating the reactions of employees.[2] Rohlen devotes more attention to young people's reactions, but implies that most learn to adjust[3];however, it should be pointed out that his study focused on a bank, which of all organizations is least likely to recruit rebellious individuals. Azumi, as well as Lifton, are more sensitive to the problem encountered by youth, but still seem to conclude that most youth experience tenko (that is, allow their minds to be changed by adult society).[4]

While these conventional accounts lean towards either the first or second of these alternatives, we find the third both theoretically plausible and consistent with a considerable body of recent evidence. Thus, our objective in this chapter will be to advance the proposition that the emergence of the new youth has caused a transformation of adult institutions. In particular, we will consider egalitarian changes in the structure of work organization and the distribution of rewards. Also, we will touch on recent political trends and other developments.

From School to the Labor Force

The concern with securing a good job is a major preoccupation of most young people as they plan their last years of schooling. Moreover, the early years of work provide the setting for a dramatic manifestation of the differences between young and old. To provide a background for consideration of this situation, let us first review some general features of the labor market for young people in Japan.

Two distinctive features of this market are (1) the practice of allowing only those youths who are in the final year of their individual educational careers to apply for jobs, and (2) the practice of starting most new jobs in the spring, upon the completion of the school year. As a result of these practices, most youths begin to work only upon graduation from either a junior high school, a senior high school, a college, or a university. Until very recently there was a strong demand for graduates at each of these levels.

Government statistics collected from 1959 to 1973 on the job search of middle and high school graduates indicate that nine out of ten found a job within three months of their graduation (see Table 9.2).

TABLE 9.2

DEMAND-SUPPLY RATIO FOR NEW SCHOOL GRADUATES AND PROPORTION OBTAINING JOBS

Year	No. of Openings for New Grads/ No. of New Grads seeking employment		% New Grads obtaining employment within 3 months of graduation	
	Middle School	High School	Middle School	High School
1959	1.2	1.1	76.4%	60.3%
1960	1.9	1.5	85.0	68.8
1961	2.7	2.0	85.6	76.0
1962	2.9	2.7	86.5	82.3
1963	2.6	2.7	86.2	82.1
1964	3.6	4.0	90.5	86.4
1965	3.7	3.5	92.1	87.3
1966	2.9	2.6	90.9	87.6
1967	3.4	3.1	92.0	86.8
1968	4.4	4.4	92.2	89.1
1969	4.8	5.7	92.6	88.8
1970	5.8	7.1	99.1	98.7
1971	6.8	8.4	100.0	99.6
1972	5.5	3.2*	100.0	99.9
1973	5.8	3.1*	99.9	100.0

Source: Japan Labor Statistics, Tokyo: The Japan Institute of Labor, 1974, pp. 58-59

Note: The lower figures reflect a new system of reporting.

Of course, the quality of jobs found by young people varies considerably. As in the U.S., industry and occupation are significant determinants of job quality. However, for the Japanese young person, the specific firms offering jobs are often the most salient consideration. Over the course of industrialization, an advantaged sector of large businesses and governmental organizations emerged which were able to offer workers lifetime employment as well as exceptional fringe benefits and competitive wages. In contrast to these larger employers were the more numerous small organizations that used simple technologies and usually offered inferior working conditions. Traditionally young people have preferred to become *sarariman* (employees) in the large organizations, and structured their educational careers accordingly. While contemporary young people are somewhat more critical of large organizations than earlier generations, the overwhelming majority still feel that large organizations provide the best opportunities, over all. Thus, as in the past, their job-seeking behavior is initially oriented to this sector.[5]

Anticipating that large organizations recruit on the basis of educational qualifications, these young people plan their educational careers accordingly, striving to attend those high schools and universities which will lead to the best jobs. These considerations are behind the academic competition we documented in Chapter Eight. The placement office of the school where a youth completes his education serves as the principal intermediary to the labor market.

Necessarily, the large organizations can hire only fraction of each year's graduating class. Given the surplus of applicants and the fact that a guarantee of lifetime employment is extended to most new hirees, large organizations go about the process of selection with great care. In each organization a section headed by a trusted executive exists for this purpose. In the summer the firm advises the personnel office on the number of new hires it anticipates. The personnel office then informs the placement offices of those schools and universities from which it prefers to recruit young people. The government and some firms observe a policy of open announcements and universalistic evaluation. However, the majority of firms restrict their recruitment to graduates of a small number of educational institutions, for this saves costs in evaluating applicants as well as yields a more homogeneous workforce.

Individual employers select recruits from the pool of applicants recommended by the placement offices of approved schools and invite these youths to take written examinations. The exams primarily test academic achievement; however, these days it is not uncommon for employers to include some ideological and psychological items in the exams.[6] Following the personnel office's evaluation of these initial results, a small number of semi-finalists are invited for interviews to gauge individual poise and character. In addition, corporations hire detective agencies to investigate the past of promising applicants: e.g., to determine whether they have run afoul of the law, what types of extra curricular and political activities they engaged in during school, what their families are like, and whether they have had special health problems.

Some corporations reject applicants who have black marks in any of these respects. But, at least in the past, most corporations were likely to employ capable applicants with black marks because they felt confident of their training programs' capacity to mold these individuals to the corporate way. This attitude received articulate expression during the period of the recent student revolt. Many personnel officers, admiring the zeal of the student leaders, reported they were eager to harness that energy in the sale of Japanese goods around the world. The governments are, understandably, less willing to take these chances.

Large corporations begin to announce their decisions on new hires by the early fall; governments make their decisions by January. Youth who learn they have failed to land a job in a large organization begin examining other alternatives: to consider a smaller firm or the prospect of setting up an independent enterprise, to join the family business, or to seek further education. Of course, for an increasing minority of youth these alternatives are first choices. In normal times, virtually all graduates of the educational system will become committed to one or the other of these alternatives by March, the month that most schools and universities hold their graduation ceremonies. A few weeks later, those members of the graduating classes who have elected to join the labor force will report to their employers.

Receiving the New Employee

While there are a number of alternatives, the majority of young people begin their work careers as employees of an organization. A norm exists in the organizational world to the effect that employers offer their recruits lifetime employment. In return, recruits are expected to loyally devote their energies to their employer.

These norms and expectations, while characteristic of all organizations, are most firmly institutionalized in the large organizations where employees from both blue and white collar ranks form enterprise unions to protect their interests. Likewise, employers develop elaborate measures to induce loyal service. One aspect is the careful process of recruitment we have just reviewed. Also employers structure pay increases, pensions, and other fringe benefits so as to reward those who conform to the norm. Finally, employers maintain an educational program to cultivate the loyalty and the skills of employees. Especially in the large organizations of the private sector, new recruits are subjected to an intensive educational experience intended to convert them to the company way. Their first day of employment often begins with a speech from the president welcoming the new class. Recruits are then sent off to a special training camp for anywhere from a few days to a few weeks, although some firms keep their recruits at these camps for as long as three monts. As in military boot camps, recruits rise early, exercise, march, sing company songs, and attend workshops extolling their employer and communicating what is expected of them.[7] Following this camp experience, recruits return to a workplace of their new employer where they are gradually introduced to the world of work.

One aspect of this introduction is the rotation of employees through the various organizational sections in order to acquaint them with the overall work process. In firms which engage in manufacturing or service, it is not uncommon to temporarily assign fresh white collar workers to the assembly line or delivery route. Former Prime Minister and Nobel Prize winner, Eisaku Sato, spent much of his pre-political life in the Ministry of Transportation. His first assignment after joining that Ministry was to punch tickets at a station wicket located in a rural area. White collar employees of large organizations may be moved from section to section for two years or more without ever receiving an important assignment.

Another method of introduction is to link each new employee with a formal _sempai_ (a type of older brother), who will listen to the recruit's problems and offer advice on succeeding in the firm. When problems arise, the _sempai_ may either take the recruit out for a drink and console him, or, if necessary, reprimand him.

Individual corporations vary widely in their execution of these programs. Through the mid-sixties, most corporations believed these initiation programs were effective in directing the motivation of young people towards corporate goals. However, from roughly 1965, corporations began to experience a number of problems with their new recruits. For the first time since the occupation period (1945-1952), the turnover rate among young employees of large corporations began to rise.[8] Worker attitude surveys indicated rising levels of dissatisfaction, especially among young employees. Typical complaints focused on powerlessness and unchallenging work, excessive emphasis on human relations and involvement in the company, long hours, and the inequality in pay (by age and rank). As one executive put it in discussing his recent blue collar recruits,

> High school graduates come in with strong views about what work they want to do--not like the old days when they were just happy to be part of the company and willing to do whatever job was assigned. After the war, employment in a big company meant security and that was what all strived for. But now with economic prosperity to be experienced everywhere, many young people prefer to work in smaller companies where they feel they can develop their individual talents. And those who do go to work for the major companies are much more demanding--and if they don't get it, they are more likely to quit than in the past.[9]

Eiji Mizutani, examining the annual employee attitude survey conducted in more than 1,000 companies from 1959 to 1972 by the Morale Survey Center, reports that there was a drastic decline in "loyalty to one's employer".[9a] A series of surveys conducted by the Productivity Bureau of the Japan Junior Chamber of Commerce, indicates an increasing proportion of young people looking at work as a means to some personal goal rather than as an end in itself.[10] In addition, this survey reports a significant drop in the level of ambition of the new recruits to white collar jobs. Between 1970 and 1974, the proportion expressing an interest in becoming an executive declined from 44% to 30%.

The Response of Modern Sector Employers

Alarmed by these recent trends, employers have responded in a variety of ways. While no one response has been found to be most typical, it is useful to list the variations:

1. One widespread response has been to improve the techniques for selecting new recruits. Corporations have increasingly enlisted the aid of such companies as Japan Recruit, Inc., which specialize in the development and administration of personnel testing. Apart from their testing services, these companies have also developed various journals and workshops which corporate personnel managers avidly consult for information regarding the recruitment of the ideal employee.

2. Many corporations have attempted to strengthen their recruit training programs. Through the late sixties, corporate expenditures per recruit have substantially increased. At the same time, many corporations have restructured the curriculum of these programs in order to combat head-on the new ideas of their recruits. Frager and Rohlen note that...

> during the sixties many large firms, including about one-third of those enrolled in the Industrial Training Association (*sangyo kunren kyokai*) in 1969, came to institute seishin-related activities as elements in their introductory training programs, particularly those for men. The variation in actual practices from company to company appeared to be large. The bank we studied in detail, for example, featured an extrordinary elaboration of seishin-oriented activities over a three-month training period, yet such intensity is not typical. It is more common to find one or two weeks given over to such activities as *zazen*, a marathon, other endurance tests, or brief training visits to Japan's Self-Defense Force camps."

However, it may well be that these training programs, even after being upgraded, have little effect. Research on intentional adult resocialization indicates the best results are achieved when subjects are placed in unfamiliar, stressful conditions which dispose them to solicit favor from the individuals in charge of the program.[12] Ideally, the subject's daily activities should be structured in a manner that continually confronts the individual with the resocializing message; diversions must be minimized. The Japanese company training programs, rather than isolating particular recruits for intensive resocialization sessions, allow them to spend most of their time with fellow age-mates who tend to share their values. Moreover, apart from a few hardships such as marching and exercising, the camps avoid generating feelings of stress. After recruits leave the camps for their new workplaces, the opportunities for resocialization diminish. At the workplace, resocialization lessons from supervisors and *sempai* take up only a fraction of each individual's time, the rest being devoted to mastering the work routine and associating with workmates.

Most recruits rightly feel that developing good relations with fellow age-mates may be more important for their long-term adjustment to the company than getting along with their boss. Thus, most of their free time is spent with those who share and support their values. Consequently, despite the considerable amounts of money and time that corporations devote to their company training programs, it is doubtful these have much effect on the values of young people. At best, the programs solidify friendships among recruits and familiarize them with the company and its expectations. A few quit; others endure; and still others complain.

3. Many corporations, recognizing the limitations of any efforts to change the personalities of new recruits, have initiated internal reforms to make working conditions more agreeable. Some firms, especially those in high technology industries, have curtailed their training camps and job-training programs and tried to move new employees more rapidly into responsible jobs. On the assumption that the apparent "loss of ambition" of new recruits can be partially attributed to their realistic appraisal of declining opportunities for promotion, some firms have increased the ratio of executive and managerial to ordinary staff jobs.

According to Shinichi Takezawa, the mid-sixties witnessed a major movement to introduce various features of job redesign.[13] Two of the most common features are the emphasis on participation in decision-making and small-groupism (shoshudan-shugi). Shoshudan-shugi refers to management's effort to foster small, intimate, face-to-face groups among employees. In the case of blue collar workers, members of a common group may not only work together, but also be assigned adjacent rooms in the company dormitory. When the company changes its production routine, the members of particular small groups will be transferred as a group to new work assignments.[14] Some companies implement group incentive schemes to motivate groups to work together and increase productivity.[15] The goal of small-groupism is to combat potential feelings of isolation and atomization by building meaningful social ties. Cole notes how Japanese management increasingly involves work groups in decision-making through the encouragement of zero defect and quality control circles.[16] These various reforms are said to have contributed significantly to the improvement of morale and the reduction of turnover.[17,18]

Throughout the organizational world there has been an effort to reduce the more abrasive aspects of hierarchical authority as well as to eliminate the symbols of executive privilege. One bank president relates that he looked forward to the privileges of being at the top: having a chauffer, arriving late at the office, golfing in the afternoons, and behaving arrogantly towards subordinates. But by the time he became president, things had changed. He was expected to set a good example by arriving first and leaving last and found that his employees wished to be addressed in a soft and respectful manner. Other executives tell of new limits on their expense accounts and of pressure to ride public transportation to work (as do the mayors and many top officials in Japan's large cities). It seems there has been a substantial transformation of workplace relations.[19]

With the recent overseas expansion of Japanese firms, Westerners have been able to glimpse Japanese quality. Louis Kraar in Fortune magazine describes a U.S. factory run by "Japanese management", where all employees through the lower managerial ranks are required to wear identical work jackets; all workers, skilled or otherwise, are expected to clean up their work area rather than leave this "dirty work" for sweepers and janitors; and the desks of most white collar employees are located in large and noisy offices.

American workers, more accustomed to status distinctions and a minute division of labor, feel uncomfortable with these practices.[20]

Along with reforms to decentralize authority and increase the participation of new recruits, corporations have attempted to introduce procedures to reward individual ability. Such procedures were developed in the late fifties when corporate leaders were impressed with America's more rational principles of management. Employee enterprise unions, with the support of younger members who stood to gain the most from the merit system, resisted these reforms because, among other reasons, they were inegalitarian. Another objection was that merit rating would excessively increase the authority of supervisors as well as generate unpleasant rivalry among employees. While most firms did introduce some form of merit rating into their procedures for determining promotion and salary, there has been little effect. Supervisors have felt constrained to give virtually identical ratings to their subordinates or else risk damaging work group harmony. Thus, studies show that merit ratings rarely account for more than 5 per cent of the variation in individual salaries.[21]

A final area of recent change, promoted by the unions, has been the reduction of wage differentials. Japan's "enterprise unions" which include all blue and white collar workers of a particular enterprise, were created immediately after World War II. From the beginning, union leaders expressed a strong ideological interest in equality, and caused a number of egalitarian changes: blue and white collar came to be designated by a common term (shain) and their wage differentials decreased; salary differentials based on university of attendance were abolished; and welfare benefits became more widespread. Over the course of the postwar period, unions have continued to press for greater equality in the treatment of employees.

Recently, in conjunction with a surplus of white collar labor and a shortage of blue collar, there has been a precipitous decline in white collar-blue collar wage differentials.[22] The egalitarian values of the young dispose them to accept these changes even when it means their relative benefits decrease.

An additional issue in the area of wage differentials is the discrepancy in the wages paid to new workers relative to those with seniority. From a strictly economic view, it is doubtful that the annual seniority increments are justified; at least in the blue collar ranks, the marginal returns to experience rapidly decline after approximately five years of service. The differentials were intended as a means of curtailing turnover by offering cumulative rewards to loyal employees, and came to be valued by the older workers. Today's youth, on the other hand, are more ambivalent about a lifetime commitment to a single firm, and question the justness of paying older workers more. Management, anxious to please youth and concerned with the escalating cost of the seniority-based wage system as the labor force ages, has been responsive to the young worker's demands.

4. A final strategy has been to increase investment in sensitivity training programs at lower- and middle-management levels for improving supervisory response to employee problems. According to one survey, this is currently the most prominent educational

program that corporations sponsor.[23] As corporations face the loss of many new recruits despite their resocializing efforts, it makes more sense to invest in management sensitivity programs than in training programs for new workers.

Parallel Developments Outside the Modern Sector

In the past, young workers wished to enter the modern sector because it provided the greatest prestige, security, and income. The majority of today's youth still view the modern sector as a preferred place of employment for these same reasons. The new youth, however, have formed reservations about modern organizational life. They find that large organizations are not especially responsive to their need for challenge, nor are they tolerant of expressions of individuality. Moreover, given their internalization of the egalitarian sentiment, youth resent working at the bottom of a hierarchy which, in their mind, provides excessive privileges to those with rank and seniority.

Many young people have begun to evaluate seriously the employment opportunities provided by smaller enterprises. While these firms can not offer such traditional rewards as prestige or security, among young people such considerations are declining in importance. On the other hand, the smaller firms provide "bigger jobs" with more challenge and responsibility at a much earlier stage of employment. They provide a more personal atmosphere and recently have come to offer starting wages and salaries competitive with those in the modern sector.

A young recruit is less certain of his future when he joins a small enterprise. If the enterprise falters or goes bankrupt the young employee may be out of a job. On the other hand, if the firm does well, the young employee can hope for rapid advancement in income and status. Because a small firm offers its employees less security than a large firm, employees can feel freer to leave their firm and take up a new job in a workplace more to their liking. Also, working in a small firm provides the type of wholistic experience an individual finds useful if he plans to start an enterprise of his own.

Several surveys suggest that young people adjust more easily to small and medium organizations than to large organizations.[24] Quantitative analysis shows that after differences in income are controlled, the young express greater satisfaction with working conditions and other features of smaller organizations.[25] Government labor statistics revealed a net outflow of laborers from small to large enterprises through the early sixties.[26] However, the pattern has since reversed. Growing numbers of workers, particularly the young who take their first jobs in large enterprises, are leaving within a two-year period and joining smaller enterprises where they hope to find more compatible work. The direction of this labor flow can be partially explained by the observation that people go where the jobs are. However, this economic explanation implies that values do not influence the flow. A number of labor market analysts question the economic explanation on this basis. They suggest one reason why more jobs are being created in the smaller enterprises is that entrepreneurs recognize the compatibility between organizations of small scale and the needs of the new workers. Analyzing the problem of motivation and the implications of new technology, some analysts even claim that the age of the mammoth organization is now passing.[27]

Generally speaking, small and medium sized organizations cannot afford to spend as much time on labor recruitment or training as the large firms. Rather than use formal tests to select personnel, they are more likely to rely on informal means, such as the recommendations of friends and acquaintances. This particularistic mode of selection has the virtue of establishing personal ties between the new recruit and his workplace. In the case of the small enterprise, the firm's size facilitates the interaction and the development of close relations between members, who come much closer to approaching a natural community. We might observe that it is especially under such diffuse and personalized conditions that members are susceptible to each other's influence.[28] Ironically, while smaller firms devote less time and money to training and resocializing recruits than large firms, their capacity to exert moral influence on new members is greater. It is partly due to this reason that young people, after working in smaller organizations, come to espouse somewhat more traditional, less egalitarian values than their age-mates in larger organizations.

Other Illustrations of the Influence of Youth's New Values

Young people also express their values in deciding where to live. For much of the modern period, they have been attracted to the glitter and opportunity of the large cities. However, in the late sixties demographers began to observe a "U-turn": a tendency for increasing numbers of people to move back to the smaller towns and rural areas after a few years in the big cities.[29] Behind this trend is the growing interest of young people in living a more fulfilling life. While rural life may not provide as much excitement, glamour, or fortune, it does allow people to work in smaller and more humanistic workplaces, to walk or cycle to work, to devote more time to family and community life, and to pursue outdoor hobbies, such as mountain climbing and fishing.

While young people have come to look more favorably on employment in small urban enterprises, their attitudes toward agricultural employment provide an exception. They rightly estimate that agriculture will not provide as high a standard of living as other jobs, and they doubt that it will provide much intrinsic satisfaction. There is a tendency for those youth who remain in agriculture to have been least affected by the new egalitarian education and to most strongly affirm traditional familial values.

Those young people who remain in the rural areas seek to introduce new ways of organizing production--combining farms, establishing cooperatives, etc.--that will promote productivity. While some are successful in these endeavors, many others leave after a few years to join their classmates in the non-agricultural labor force. The extent to which youth have abandoned agriculture is truly astounding. In 1965, for the first time in modern Japanese history, there was an actual decline in the number of farm households. Some rural areas have experienced serious depopulation, with the local villages being composed almost exclusively of older people.[30]

The Political Orientations of Youth

Going back to the period immediately after World War II, we might recall that the new "Peace Constitution", the democratic schools, the labor unions, the progressive income tax system, the break-up of the zaibatsu, and universal suffrage were introduced in Japan by the American Occupation at a time when Japanese conservative forces were powerless. To effect its reforms, the Occupation sought the support and counsel of Japan's liberals and others further to the left. Thus, in a sense, the Occupation's reforms were the reforms of the left, a fact that became exceedingly important over the postwar period.

It was not long before the conservative forces regained their strength and began considering steps to dismantle the Occupation's reforms. From 1948, the conservatives obtained a majority of the representatives in both houses of the national Diet and in most of the local governments. Immediately, steps were taken to limit the strike rights of unions, to reduce the autonomy of the schools and to remove the controls on private enterprise; constitutional amendments were even contemplated. While the conservative camp was complex and included men with a variety of ideological concerns and interests, it would be fair to say the conservatives were declaring war on the spirit of the Occupation's reforms.

Each attempt by conservatives at counter-reform was vigorously opposed by the leftist parties, which received support from such groups as the federated labor unions, the Zengakuren student movement, and various associations of intellectuals. The confrontation led to

TABLE 9.3

WHICH POLITICAL PARTY DO YOU SUPPORT?
PER CENT WHO INDICATED THE LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Survey Date	Age Group								60+			
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70+	Average
1953	30	42	32	31	34	39	37	37	39			41
1958	31	37	38	44	41		41		37			38
1963	27	38	38	40	51	45	48	55	57	50	52	43
1968	29	24	35	42	43	48	52	48	47	56	52	41
1973	19	25	29	31	39	40	42	45	48			35

a clean split in the Japanese polity between the progressive forces for democracy and equality and the conservative forces of reaction. The critical issue in this struggle was the set of values that the Japanese government should support: Should Japan promote the traditional values of collectivism, national strength, hierarchy and economic competition, or the new values of individualism, participation, and equality? As Watanuki has observed, the fifties was an era of cultural politics.[31]

A political debate focused so heavily on these abstract issues was bound to wane. One of the fundamental problems faced by the conservatives was that their values simply did not appeal to the young. This should be evident from our discussion of the values taught in Japanese schools. Table 9.3 presents the proportion of respondents in each of the five national surveys who prefer the conservative party. In each survey the younger respondents show far less interest in the conservatives than the older, and, as we move from 1953 to 1973, we find declining support for the conservative party among the youngest (20-24) age group.

While this state of youthful disaffection was somewhat disturbing to conservatives, it did not deter them from addressing their traditional constituencies through the fifties and into the sixties. During this period, the conservatives promoted agricultural price supports and loan programs for small businesses, and attempted to serve the interests of big business. At the same time, they periodically attempted to challenge the labor unions and other progressive forces: for example, over performance ratings for teachers in 1958, the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty Renewal in 1959, and achievement tests for students in 1961.

Many within the conservative camp, however, took a dim view of such confrontations. These critics, often called "doves", felt that the opposition was in Japan to stay and that the political survival of the conservatives rested on a Bismarckian approach of promoting "progressive" legislation. Due to the growing influence of the doves, the conservatives supported comprehensive health insurance and social security in 1960 and various other items of welfare legislation since then. This moderate wing has worked for a continuation of some of the Occupation's legislation, such as the progressive income tax, and has pursued less militant relations with certain opposition groups, notably the teachers' union and the students.[32] The doves' accurate perception of the changing values of Japanese youth has led them to promote more moderate and egalitarian policies.

Through these tactics, the conservatives have attempted to neutralize value politics and make themselves more attractive to the young. In one sense, they have succeeded. Young voters are less likely than in the past to associate the conservatives with traditional values, and more likely to view the socialists and other progressive parties in a critical light. While these policies have not increased conservative support among the young, they have not driven potential followers into the arms of their principal rivals, the socialists. Instead, some young have turned to the Clean Government Party (Komeito) and especially to the Communist Party. However, the most pronounced trend among new voters is away from politics in general. Whereas in 1953 only 15 per cent of the 20-24 year olds said they were undecided, the proportion rose to 51 per cent in 1973.[33] When asked in 1953 how determined they were to vote, 54 per cent of the young age group said they would make every effort; in 1973 this proportion declined to 23 per cent. Most of the young people said they would at least try to vote, but a growing proportion (up from 4 per cent in 1953 to 17 per cent in 1973) flatly stated that they were disinterested.

Clearly, many of the new voters will begin voting as they grow older, and many will lean to the left. The days of Japan's conservative party thus seem numbered. It is still too early to predict the future of Japanese politics once the conservatives fall, but one thing is certain: future regimes will pay more attention to the voice of the new generations.

The Government's Youth Policy

Japan's progressive and ultra-conservative political parties devoted considerable energy to reaching out to the young. The socialists have relied on their contacts with the Japan Teachers' Union and other party-affiliated unions to reach youth in the schools and the workplaces. The communists have devoted much time and money to reaching youth in the universities; on many compuses their student affiliates, the minsei, control the local self-governments associations. As a contribution to the party, youth deliver the party paper, Akahata, to some 4 million homes daily.[34] Similarly, the Komeito sponsors a youth group as does its kindred religion, the Sokka Gakkai.

Relative to these opposition groups, the conservative political organization has assumed that its influence in so many of the formal organizations of education and work provides sufficient contact with youth; thus, the conservatives have made no special effort to create youth associations, especially in the urban areas. It may well be that the more vigorous efforts of the peripheral parties have influenced the anti-conservative trends in youth values and voting we have observed. We might also surmise that the left's efforts to mobilize youth are an important ingredient underlying the relative equality of political participation in Japan.[35] By and large, the left has tried to mobilize youth, housewives, and other marginal groups that have lower social status; in recent years these efforts have been particularly successful. People's movements have become a significant political force in the Japan of the seventies. In contrast, the conservatives have tended to rely on traditional groups such as local rotary clubs, farmers' associations, and each politician's *koenkai* (support group); but these groups, which are mainly located in rural areas, have weakened in recent years. Equality in Japanese political participation, then, stems from the upsurge of the left's youthful support and the decline of the conservatives' older groups.

Over the past few years, however, it would appear that the conservatives have begun to re-orient their policy toward youth. One new tactic has been the effort to strengthen their influence over youth in those formal areas they control. For example, they have pressured the Ministry of Education to intensify its censorship of school textbooks; the well-known Ienaga case is a reminder.

The main thrust of the censor's judgment was that Ienaga's Japanese history textbook placed too strong an emphasis on the people's role in building the Japanese nation and did not show enough respect for the emperor or the nation. In addition, the conservatives have devoted considerable effort towards formalizing the post of head teacher in the schools.[36] The conservatives' underlying expectation is that the position will enable them to exert more pressure on teachers to adhere to government educational policy. In the Ienaga case, the government met with a surprising judicial setback, and in the struggle over head teachers, less than one-third of Japan's prefectures have thus far implemented the central order.

Another tactic of conservatives has been to construct youth recreation centers throughout the country. The most conspicuous of these is located near the Nakano station of the Chuo Train Line in Tokyo. The center stands some 20 stories tall and includes a main gymnasium, an Olympic-sized swimming pool, facilities for a great variety of indoor sports, reading rooms, banquet halls, wedding rooms, an active club system, and a small hotel service; the total cost was upwards of $25 million. Hidetoshi Kato has observed that no other government outside the socialist camp has devoted so much money and organizational effort to contain and direct the energies of its youth.[37] However, despite the attractions of Nakano and other centers, they are only one among many "outlets" where youth seek recreation. It is thus doubtful that such youth programs will have much bearing on Japan's future.

Other Egalitarian Trends

As new cohorts of young people inculcated with egalitarian and individualistic values move into society, they initiate changes in several other respects deserving of note.

1. Language Usage. The traditional Japanese language included at least five different levels of honorifics that were supposed to be used depending on one's status, the person to whom one talked, and the person or situation discussed. Today, most Japanese have a working command of no more than three levels, and they often fail to even use these properly. Thus, employees are only mildly deferential to their bosses; wives treat their husbands as equals; and children demean their fathers. Without a doubt, social relations as conveyed through language usage have been levelled.[38]

2. Family Formation and Structure. In Chapter Four we observed that young people have become increasingly assertive in the exercise of mate selection and that family structures have become more egalitarian compared to earlier periods. These changes are strongly influenced by the new values of postwar youth. As with other changes we are considering, a "feedback process" is operative: new youth mature to form egalitarian families with children who, because of their early family experiences, develop even stronger egalitarian and individualistic orientations than their parents.

3. Occupational Prestige. In Chapter Seven we observed how young people are developing a more egalitarian view of occupations than their parents. This new orientation helps to explain their willingness to enter jobs that traditionally were considered low

in prestige, i.e., jobs in the small and medium enterprises. In that chapter we also noted that younger people tend to make fewer sharp distinctions when rating the prestige of occupations. As the adult population comes to consist of more young people with egalitarian perspectives, we anticipate a gradual levelling of the occupational prestige hierarchy. A definite trend in that direction is already evident.

The first occupational prestige survey was conducted in Japan in 1955 by the Japan Sociological Association. Twenty years later a replication survey was performed (see Table 9.4) for the prestige scores. In comparing the two sets of prestige scores, we note how the higher prestige occupations have declined several points while lower prestige occupations have risen. The only other society where similar levelling has been reported is Poland; in Poland's case, the shift from a capitalist to a communist regime was an important conditioning factor.[39]

4. Income Equality. Much of the recent discussion of equality in advanced Western societies has focused on income equality. It thus seems appropriate to conclude the analysis of social change by providing some summary indication of the situation in Japan. Several of the developments we have discussed in this chapter--decreasing occupation- and age-based wage differentials, improved social welfare benefits, the progressive taxation system--imply a trend towards increased income equality.

National statistics on personal income distribution are difficult to compare. However, economists who have worked with this data seem to agree that contemporary Japan has one of the most

TABLE 9.4

SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE SCORES FOR JAPAN 1955 AND JAPAN 1975

Occupation	Japan 55	Japan 75	Japan 75 minus Japan 55
university professor	90	83	-7
doctor	83	83	0
city department chief	71	60	-11
company department chief	70	61	-9
civil engineer	69	63	-6
mechanical engineer	69	61	-8
temple priest	66	59	-7
teacher	66	63	-3
employee in large company	52	49	-3
policeman	51	54	+3
manager of a small shop	50	49	-1
owner farmer	49	45	-4
railway station employee	46	45	-1
barber	42	45	+3
joiner	40	43	+3
auto mechanic	40	43	+3
truck driver	40	41	+1
carpenter	39	45	+6
lathe worker	39	37	-2
insurance agent	38	35	-3
typographer	38	47	+9
fisherman	36	36	0
worker in a bread factory	35	37	+2
clerk in a small shop	35	35	0
spinner	33	33	0
tenant farmer	29	30	+1
coal miner	23	28	+5
road mender	22	27	+5
street salesman	22	28	+6
coal dealer	22	23	+1

Source: Japan 55 reported in Shigeki Nishihira, "Le Prestige Social des differentes professions--l'evaluation populaire au Japon," *Revue Francaise Sociologie*, Vol. 9, No. 4, 1968, p. 554; Japan 75 reported from recent national social mobility survey.

TABLE 9.5

'GINI COEFFICIENTS' FOR PERSONAL INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

Country	Year	All Incomes	Wage and Salary Incomes
Japan	1965	0.32	0.21
Japan	1970	0.28	0.19
France	1962	0.52	0.35
Germany	1964	0.47	0.28
Italy	1966	0.37	-
United Kingdom	1963/4	0.40	0.27
United States	1964	0.40	-
Australia	1967/8	0.34	-
Canada	1969	0.38	-
Finland	1962	0.47	-
Netherlands	1962	0.44	0.40
Norway	1963	0.36	-
Sweden	1963	0.40	0.36
Czechoslovakia	1965	0.24	0.19
Hungary	1967	0.26	0.25

Source: Andrea Boltho, Japan: An Economic Survey: 1953-1973, London: Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 166

equal distributions of all advanced societies.[40] Gini indexes, computed by Boltho for selected countries, are presented in Table 9.5. After considering the effects of unreported property income and entertainment allowances, the differential effects of income tax systems, and the impact of unreported cases, Boltho concludes:

> On balance, some upward adjustments of Japan's figures in Table 9.5 may be warranted. But a number of points militate in an opposite direction...
>
> Impressionistically assessing the various considerations set out above, therefore, a tentative conclusion might not be very different from the one originally proposed. Assuming that the internatonal data assembled are reasonably reliable, Japan's personal income distribution, while not necessarily the most equal in the world, is among the more equal ones in developed countries, despite the 'dualism' of the economy. And Japan's degree of equality is particularly evident at the bottom of the income scale. The share of income obtained by the top 5 or 10 per cent of households is not very different from that in other relatively 'egalitarian' market economies like Australia or Norway.[41]

Boltho observes that the Gini indexes for Japan were quite large in the 1950s but have declined steadily since that time. Table 9.5 shows the downward trend between 1965 and 1970.[42] Ishizaki and the Economic Planning Agency of Japan also find that Japan's income distribution has become more equal (allowing for cyclical fluctuations) over the postwar period.[43] They observe the progress towards equality immediately after the war, the slow reversal through the mid-fifties, and the continuous trend towards equality since the late fifties.

The Effectiveness of Resocialization Efforts

Many Japanese political and economic leaders are concerned about the values of the young and the social change they are precipitating. Through corporate training programs, the national youth program, and school curricular reforms, these leaders are attempting to control and even reverse the trend of value change. But, as we have see, the effectiveness of these efforts is limited. First, the schools entrenched teacher's union acts as a buffer against the intrusions of conservative moralizers. Second, the strength of peer relations wards off the complaints of parents. Finally, the company training programs, which represent the most intensive resocialization effort, are compromised by their concern with the goals of fostering peer friendships and company loyalty. Thus, while for particular individuals and sub-groups there is undoubtedly some drift away from egalitarianism, in general we find little reason to expect that the postwar generations will abandon these values as they proceed into adult life.

The Persistence of Youth's New Values

In Chapter Seven we identified three clusters of values that are particularly significant in considering postwar social change: the egalitarian orientation to jobs, the individualistic orientation, and the participatory orientation. With respect to these clusters, we showed how the young were consistently more progressive than adults and how each new cohort of young people has shown a progressively stronger tendency to affirm these new values.

Our review of the early adult experience of these same young people leads us to further hypothesize that once they adopt these new values, they will not abandon them.

Several questions from the National Institute of Statistical Matematics' national character survey enable a test of this hypothesis. This survey has been replicated every five years since 1953. While each replication has interviewed a new sample of individuals, it is possible to follow an imaginary cohort through its life cycle by focusing on particular age groups over successive surveys. For example, if we start with the youngest age group (20-24) of the first survey, their cohort will be 25-29 at the time of the second survey, 30-34 at the time of the third, and so on. As an indication of the cohorts' tendency of value retention, the manner in which they answer designated questions should remain stable over time.

In Chapter Seven we used the question on life goals as a measure of the emerging individualistic orientation. Table 9.6 is based on the same question. Starting with the cohort aged 20-24 years old in 1953, we find that 43 per cent selected one or the other of the alternatives--"suit one's own tastes" or "live each day as it comes". In the survey five years later, 51% of this cohort gave these same responses. Following the cohort through each successive period, we find roughly the same proportions: 52% in the 1963 survey, 51% in 1968, and 57% in 1973. Thus, for the imaginary cohort aged 20-24 in 1953, an essentially stable proportion affirm the individualistic life goal as they grow older. Similarly, when we look at the imaginary cohort that was 20-24 in 1958, 50% selected an individualistic alternative; following this cohort, the respective proportions are 54% in 1963, 56% in 1968, and 62% in 1973

TABLE 9.6

THERE ARE ALL SORTS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD LIFE: PROPORTION WHO CHOSE. SUIT ONE'S TASTES OR LIVE EACH DAY AS IT COMES

Survey Date	Age Group											
									60+			
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70+	Average
1953	43	32	45	33	28	25	31	22	24	14	11	32
1958	50	51	54	38	44	40	56	41	35	30	34	45
1963	60	54	52	49	51	49	42	44	39	36	31	49
1968	67	61	56	51	54	50	50	38	43	44	32	52
1973	76	72	66	62	57	59	58	56		49		62

giving the individualistic responses. For the imaginary cohort that was 20-24 in 1963, the successive proportions are 60%, 61% and 66%. In comparison, we find that each successive cohort contains a slightly larger proportion affirming the response, and each maintains its edge over the preceding cohort. The table thus provides powerful evidence that postwar youth persist in their individualism.

Turning to the cohort trends for the two questions selected in Chapter Seven to measure the anti-authority-participatory orientation, we find roughly the same pattern. Table 9.7 presents the results for "parent should inform the child of teacher's wrongdoing". Ther percentages for the imaginary cohort aged 20-24 in 1953 who agreed that parents should tell are 50% in 1953, 50% in 1958, 52% in 1963, 53% in 1968, and 59% in 1973. The percentage for the cohort aged 20-24 in 1958 are 45% (the only figure notably out of line) in 1958, 55% in 1963, 58% in 1968, and 59% in 1973. For the cohort aged 20-24 in 1963, the figures are 58%, 54%, and 56%.

In Table 9.8, we present the trends for the proportion disagreeing that "one should leave everything to leaders". Again, we find considerable stability within cohorts over time. For example, looking at the cohort aged 20-24 in 1953, we find that the proportion who disagree ranges between 50% and 58%. For the next cohort beginning with the 1958 survey, the proportion fluctuates between 52% and 64%.

TABLE 9.8

SUPPOSE THAT A CHILD COMES HOME AND SAYS THAT HE HAS HEARD A RUMOR THAT HIS TEACHER HAS DONE SOMETHING TO GET HIMSELF INTO TROUBLE, AND SUPPOSE THAT THE PARENT KNOWS THIS IS TRUE. DO YOU THINK IT IS BETTER FOR THE PARENT TO TELL THE CHILD THAT IT IS TRUE, OR TO DENY IT? % SAY BETTER TO AFFIRM

Survey Date	Age Group											
										60+		
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70+	Average
1953	50	49	44	42	36	38	36	38	30	23	44	42
1958	45	50	38	44	31	45	41	41	30	24	21	41
1963	58	55	52	53	50	48	44	44	39	36	47	50
1968	55	54	58	53	49	47	53	49	49	50	42	52
1973	64	59	56	59	59	51	52	43		42		54

TABLE 9.8

SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT IF WE GET OUTSTANDING POLITICAL LEADERS, THE BEST WAY TO IMPROVE THE COUNTRY IS FOR THE THE PEOPLE TO LEAVE EVERYTHING TO THEM, RATHER THAN FOR THE PEOPLE TO DISCUSS THINGS AMONG THEMSELVES. % WHO DISAGREE

Survey Date	Age Group								60+			
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70+	Average
1953	54	48	46	38	28	29	26	28	19	15	6	38
1958	60	50	51	45	46	46	34	27	29	18	19	44
1963	58	54	52	46	51	50	40	40	30	34	30	47
1968	63	58	52	54	57	49	50	45	35	33	27	51
1973	74	61	66	64	58	61	53	58	42			60

Change in Values and Change in Behavior

Our main interest has been the enduring effect of egalitarian socialization on several value clusters of the new generation. Even though adult institutions have made various efforts to induce young people to abandon their new values, it would appear that these efforts have been unsuccessful. Cohorts raised in the postwar era continue to affirm the values learned in school. While it is likely that some social settings are more conducive to resocialization than others--we suspect small enterprises are most conducive, the professions least--the available evidence suggests no major value shifts in any of the postwar cohorts.

On the other hand, there is good reason to suspect that these resocialization efforts have greater impact on behavior. Krauss, for instance, observes that large organizations discourage overt political activity by employees, especially among white collar ranks; insofar as young employees feel compelled to protect their career prospects, they are likely to follow these guidelines. Thus, Krauss finds that young radicals who take jobs in large organizations terminate their participation in public marches of protest.[44] One might say they become silent radicals, restraining their behavior yet retaining their values.

The proportions voting for the LDP (see Table 9.3) provide another indication of behavioral change within cohorts. Ignoring the results for 1973 (when LDP support plummeted across all age groups), support for the LDP within cohorts increases with age. For example, only 30% of the cohort aged 20-24 in 1953 supported the LDP; five years later, 37% of this cohort preferred the LDP; ten years later, 38%; and fifteen years later, 42%. Somewhat similar results are observed for the other imaginary cohorts.

This disjunction between value and behavioral change helps us to understand why a virtual revolution in postwar values has not brought about even greater social changes than those already enumerated. Confronted with the cool reception of adult society, many young people fail to act on their new values, and instead adjust their behavior to conform to established roles. The contrast between outward behavioral conformity and inward value-based opposition generates a comparatively high level of tension and frustration among Japan's young adults.

Conclusion

Much of the conventional literature suggests that Japan's schools teach youth those values and orientations that will facilitate rapid adjustment to the demands of adult society. For example, schools teach youth discipline and responsibility, they sensitize youth to the needs of others, they orient youth to the world of work and citizenship. Because the schools teach these lessons, they are said to be well-integrated with Japan's adult institutions.

However, we find there is another aspect of the school-society link which the conventional perspective neglects. Schools also teach Japanese youth many inconsistent lessons. In particular, we have identified the three lessons which form the egalitarian sentiment: the egalitarian orientation to work, the individuated disposition, and the critical orientation structures of authority. Because Japanese young people learn these inconsistent lessons, they feel immensely dissatisfied upon their initial encounter with adult institutions. Indeed, the International Youth Survey cited in Table 9.1 suggests that Japanese young people are the most dissatisfied youth in the advanced world.

Is it possible that these young people gradually forget the school's egalitarian lessons and adjust to the institutionalized inequalities of adult institutions? The conventional perspective answers in the affirmative. Our objective in this chapter has been to present the opposite view. We have identified a number of recent changes in Japanese society that appear to have been precipitated by the demands of the new youth. Because Japan's youth are taught their egalitarian lessons in the schools, we conclude that education is transforming society. There are two major counter-arguments to our conclusion.

One common counter-argument goes as follows: The egalitarian sentiment is not unique to Japanese youth, but rather is shared by the youth of all advanced industrial societies. This sentiment is said to emerge from the common set of structural changes these advanced societies are experiencing-- for example, occupational and educational upgrading, the shift to a post-industrial economy, the maturation of the baby-boom cohort, the unprecedented situation of sustained mass affluence. Youth throughout the world, in response to these changes, have developed a united movement that both opposes established ways and is adaptive to the projected demands of the coming post-industrial social order. A surprising number of contemporary observers ascribe to this post-industrial explanation and discount the role of the schools. However, we feel this grand explanation begs too many questions: (1) Are youth in the various societies responding to identical changes? (2) Is there a worldwide youth movement? (3) Do youth in the various societies experience common levels of difficulty in adjusting to adult institutions? (4) Where do youth acquire their critical orientation to the adult world? In our opinion, none of the expositors of the post-industrial explanation has provided a satisfactory answer to these questions. As the post-industrial explanation is elaborated, we anticipate it will recognize the contribution of contemporary education. For we suspect that the educational institutions of all advanced societies in greater or lesser degree, teach values that are inconsistent with the demands of the adult world. The post-industrial expanation, rather than being a counter-argument, is a generalization of our thesis.

It can also be argued that the changes we document are best accounted for by other forces. For example, it is clear that youth's new values are no more than a secondary factor in the postwar trend of declining occupational and size wage-differentials. Likewise, youth's shift away from the conservative political party is, at least in part, a function of that party's failure to recognize youth's needs. We agree that these other explanations are also relevant. Yet, given the complexities of modern social organization, we would not expect a single explanation to be sufficient to account for a particular change. Education's egalitarian impact supplements these other forces. We draw confidence in our argument from the fact that Japan's conservative politicians and business leaders, whose interests are threatened by these changes, attribute egalitarian education with the blame for the postwar egalitarian transformation.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For a brief summary of comparative evidence, see William K. Cummings, "The Crisis of Japanese Higher Education," Minerva, Vol. X (October, 1972), p. 632.

[2] James C. Abegglen The Japanese Factory. The Free Press: Glencoe, Ill., 1958, especially Chapter 3, "The Recruitment of Personnel."

[3] Thomas P. Rohlen, For Harmony and Stength, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974, especially Chapter Nine, Creating the Uedagin Man."

[4] For example, Azumi concludes: "Within the Japanese climate the 'authoritarian bureaucratic social system' is not questioned." See Koya Azumi, Higher Education and Business Recruitment in Japan, New York: Teachers College Press, 1969, p. 112; Also see Robert J. Lifton, "Youth and History, Individual Change in Post War Japan," Daedalus, Vol. 91. (Winter, 1962).

[5] See the following for a detailed analysis of the labor market orientations of Japanese youth: Mary Jean Bowman et al. Schools and the Future in Japan. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, forthcoming.

[6] Azumi, op. cit., pp. 75ff for an interesting analysis of the exams.

[7] This discussion is based on our interviews with personal officers of several large organizations during the fall of 1973 and the spring of 1976.

[8] According to statistics compiled from the monthly labor survey, the rate of separation from large firms steadily increased from 1966 to 1970. Of greater significance, the proportion leaving work places who indicate they quit for personal reasons has slowly increased between the late fifties and 1970. See Japan Labor Statistics, Tokyo: The Japan Institute of Labor, 1974, pp. 65, 67.

[9] Quoted in Robert E. Cole, "Work Redesign in Japan: A Macro View," unpublished manuscript, p. 17.

[9a] Eiji Mizutani, "The Changing Picture of Lifetime Employment in Japan," Japan House Newsletter 19 (May 1, 1972).

[10] The results are summarized in Soritu Seishonen Taisaka Honbu, Seishonen Haknsto: Shower 49 Nen Saku (1974 White Paper on Youth). Tokyo: Okurasho Insatsukyoku, 1975, p. 47.

[11] Robert Frager and Thomas P. Rohlen, "The Future of a Tradition: Japanese Spirit in the 1980's," in Lewis Austin, ed. Japan: The Paradox of Progress. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975, p. 263.

[12] Robert J. Lifton. Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism: A study of "brain washing" in China, New York, Norton, 1961.

[13] Shinichi Takezawa, "The Quality of Working Life: Trends in Japan," Labour and Society, 1 (January, 1976), pp. 29-48; esp. p. 36.

[14] These practices reported in Masako M. Osako, Auto Assembly Technology and Social Integration in a Japanese Factory: A Case Study, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Northwestern University, 1973.

[15] A group incentive scheme implemented in a Japanese firm within the past ten years is described by Robert E. Cole in Japanese Blue Collar, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971, p. 92.

[16] Cole, "Work Redesign," op. cit., pp. 25ff.

[17] Tukezawa, op. cit, p. 36.

[18] Tukezawa, op. cit, p. 36.

[19] These stories related to me in a conversation with the President of Recruit, Inc., in the Spring of 1976. Circa 1970:

[20] Louis Kraar, "The Japanese are Coming - With Their Own Style of Management," Fortune, March, 1975, pp. 116-121, 160-164.

[21] See Naomichi Funahashi, "The Industrial Reward System: Wages and Benefits," in Kazuo Okochi et. al., Workers and Employers in Japan, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1973, pp. 361-397; especially note Table 10.1 on p. 363 which shows a steady postwar decline in the proportion of total wages that are accounted for by incentive rates.

[22] Walter Galenson and Konosuke Odaka, in a recent survey, conclude "that almost all types of Japanese wage differentials have been declining during the past decade" Galenson and Odaka, "The Japanese Labor Market," in Hugh Patrick and Henry Rosousky, Asia's New Giant, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1976, p. 605.

[23] Reported in Sangyo Kunren Hakusto (Industrial Training White Paper), Tokyo: Nihon Keieista Dantai Renmei, 1971, especially pp. 16-24.

[24] For example, a survey of young workers conducted by the Prime Minister's Office indicated those who are in smaller workplaces express higher levels of satisfaction with their job and workplace. See Sorifu. Sekai Seinen Ishiki Chosa (International Youth Survey), 1973, p. 207. Hokokusto.

[25] William K. Cummings and Robert Burns, "Organizational Size and Job Turnover," unpublished paper.

[26] See Tadao Kiyonari, Nihon ChustoKigyo no Koza Hendo (The Chenging Structure of Small and Medium Enterprises). Tokyo: Shinhyoron, 1970.

[27] Hideichiro Nakamura, Daikibo Jidai no Owari (The End of the Era of Large Scale). Tokyo: Daiyamondosta, 1970.

[28] Bidwell and Vreeland, op. cit.

[29] Tachi Monoru et al. Mirai no Nihon Jinko, (The Future Japanese Population), Tokyo: NHK Bokkusu, 1970, pp. 200ff.

[30] Ibid, p. 206.

[31] Joji Watanuki, "The Pattern of Politics in Present Day Japan," in S.M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds., Party Systems and Voter Alignments. New York: The Free Press, 1967, pp. 456-7.

[32] For an extended discussion of this accommodation, see William K. Cummings, "The Problems and Prospects for Japanese Higher Education," in Austin, op. cit., pp. 57-88.

[33] Suri Tokei Kenkyujyo, Nihonjin no Kokuminsei: Dai San (Japanese National Character: Volume 3). Tokyo: Shiseido, 1974, p. 571.

[34] For an informative analysis of the Communist Party; youth organizations, see Asahi Shinbunsta, Nihon Kyosanto (Japan's Communist Party). Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsta, 1973.

[35] Several surveys reviewed by James E. White indicate "that the socioeconomic 'have nots' are much less handicapped in their political participation in Japan than in the U.S." See White, "Status Differences in Political Participation in Tokyo," Paper delivered at the American Political Participation in Tokyo," Paper delivered at the American Political Science Association Meetings, San Francisco, Sept., 1975.

[36] See Chapter Three for more detail on the head teacher issue.

[37] Hidetoshi Kato, "The Government's Youth Policy," Japan Quarterly, 1974.

[38] Nakano, op. cit.; Honna, op. cit.

[39] See Adam Sarapata, "Occupational Prestige Hierarchy Studies in Poland," Paper presented at VIIIth World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, August, 1974.

[40] Andrea Boltho, Japan: An Economic Survey, 1953-1973, London, Oxford University Press, 1975, pp. 161-187; Tadao Ishizaki, "The Income Distribution in Japan," Developing Economies, June, 1967, p. 351-370; J. R. Hicks and Nobuko Nosse, The Social Framework of the Japanese Economy, Tokyo: Oxford University Press, 1974, pp. 264-287; Lester C. Thurow and Robert E. B. Lucas, "The American Distribution of Income: A Structural Problem," A Study prepared for the use of the joing Economic Committee, U.S. Congress. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March 17, 1972.

[41] Boltho; op. cit., p. 166-7.

[42] According to recent white papers, the egalitarian trend is continuing through the mid-seventies.

[43] Ishizaki, _op_. _cit_., p. 356; Keizai Kikakucho (Economic Planning Agency) _Kokumin Seikatsu Hakusto_ (White Paper on People's Livelihood), 1975, pp. 17ff.

[44] Krauss, _op_. _cit_., pp. 141ff.

CHAPTER TEN

A NOTE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

At the beginning of this study, we asserted that the meritocratic approach to egalitarian change is outdated. The meritocratic approach, which has guided public policy for several decades, assumes that educational credentials are the key to socioeconomic achievement. Through promoting reforms that equalize the educational opportunities of children from different socioeconomic backgrounds, the meritocratic approach aims to reduce the impact of social origins on socioeconomic achievement. However, evidence collected in the U.S. and Western Europe indicates the failure of the meritocratic approach. Despite extensive efforts to equalize educational opportunity, empirical studies by Raymond Boudon for OECD and Christopher Jencks for the U.S. indicate these reforms have had little impact on the distribution of social opportunities.

In that Japan shares many common structural features with advanced Western societies, one might anticipate much the same pattern of results to obtain there. As part of this study, we participated in the 1975 Japan national survey of social mobility and acquired the data necessary for examining Japanese trends. On the basis of our analysis of the 1975 survey in combination with comparable surveys in 1965 and 1955, we find that Japan constitutes an interesting exception to the Western pattern. For in Japan, over the postwar period we find a progressive dimunition of the effect of social background on both educational and social opportunities.

Even though the Japanese experience indicates the possibility of equalizing educational and social opportunity, we do not believe it provides support for the meritocratic approach to social change. Rather we maintain that the opening of opportunities follows from several developments associated with egalitarian education. Specifically:

1. In contrast with conventional education, egalitarian education reduces the association between social background and cognitive development because the variance in cognitive achievement is lessened and discriminatory educational practices are minimized (Chapter Six).

2. Egalitarian education transmits the motivation to achieve in school to a larger proportion of youth, and social background is relatively unrelated to this effect (Chapter Six).

3. Because of No. 1 and No. 2, the average level of educational aspirations is high generating great pressure for expansion of the educational system. As places at the compulsory level of the educational system increase, more and more youth from ordinary backgrounds go on for advanced education. This leads to a decrease in the association between social background and general measures of educational attainment. However, it is still possible for children from privileged backgrounds to win out in the competition for entrance to elite universities (Chapter Eight).

4. Likewise, in contrast with conventional education which views occupations as arrayed in a neat status hierarchy determined by the intellectual demands of each job, egalitarian education urges youth to develop a more complex view of occupations. It points out the interrelatedness of the division of labor and the intrinsic rewards that derive from different kinds of work. Thus youth develop a perspective which, relative to earlier generations, places less emphasis on the prestige differences of occupations. (Chapter Nine)

5. Youth are flexible in their occupational orientations and their social background is only modestly associated with the occupations they aspire to (Chapter Seven).

In sum, we find that egalitarian education tends to equalize the educational resources and motivation that young people bring to the labor market. Exponents of the meritocratic approach have tended to assume that the equalization of youth's qualifications and motivation would lead to a more equal allocation of social opportunity.They assume that the increased volume of qualified youth from lower socioeconomic background will result in an improvement in the socioeconomic opportunities provided these youth.

But there is no necessary reason why this should be so. On the side of young people, even with their modified views on the prestige of occupations, it is still likely that large numbers will be oriented to high prestige occupations. It is conceivable that the equalization of youth's work-relevant resources might lead to an intensification of the competition for desired jobs. While it might become more difficult for employers to evaluate the competition and the pressure on participants might increase, there is no reason to assume a change in the opportunity structure. Employers are unlikely to create more high status jobs simply to accomodate the increased number of qualified applicants. The equalization of educational resources, in the abscence of an alteration of the structure of social opportunities, is likely to lead to a long-run trend of weakened association between educational and social achievement. However, what might take education's place as the criteria for social selection? Employers might shift to new criteria for evaluation such as personality or, as Michael Young argues in his fable on the meritocracy, they might evel fall back on family background. If so, the association between family background and educational achievement might decline at the same time that family background increases its impact on socioeconomic achievement.

Thus it is not at all clear what might happen to the distribution of social opportunities in a society that experiences an equalization of the distribution of educational resources. The outcome cannot be logically deduced, or at least not without introducing new assumptions that are not included in typical meritocratic arguments. What actually transpires under a condition of equalized educational attainment is a question for empirical investigation.

Methods

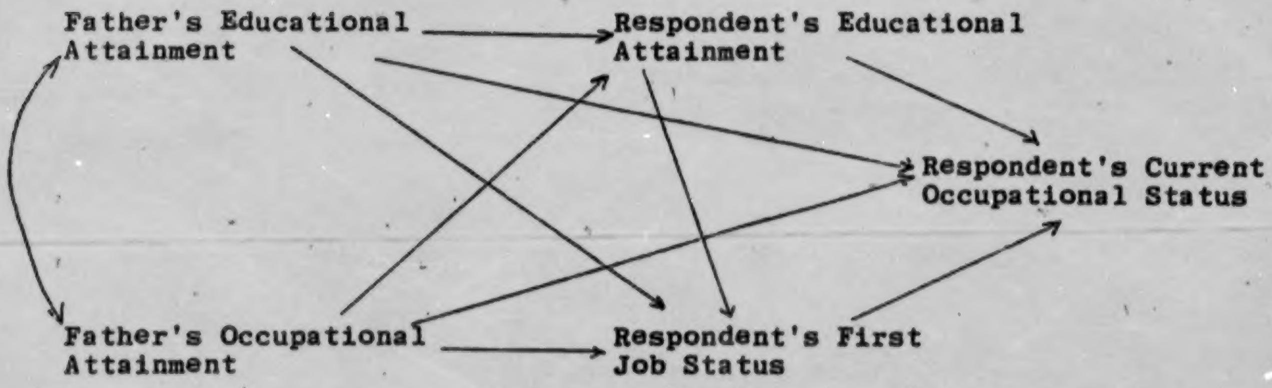
We assume that most readers have some familiarity with the methods developed over the past two decades to examine trends in social opportunity. On the one had, there is the path analysis of status attainment models originally developed by Otis D. Duncan and Peter Blau. The basic model used in this research is pictured in Figure 10.1. A number of conventions are available for operationalizing the variables of the model, and we will discuss our choices below. Regardless of the particular choices made, the following are the criteria for deciding whether there have been changes in opportunity:

1. An increase in educational opportunity can be said to have occured to the extent father's educational attainment's effect on respondent's educational attainment decreases.

2. An increase in educational opportunity can be said to have occured to the extent father's occupational attainment's effect on respondent's educational attainment decreases.

FIGURE 10.1

BLAU AND DUNCAN'S BASIC PATH MODEL FOR STATUS ATTAINMENT


Father's Educational Attainment
Respondent's Educational Attainment
Respondent's Current Occupational Status
Father's Occupational Attainment
Respondent's First Job Status

3. An increase in social opportunity can be said to have occured to the extent father's educational attainment's effect on respondent's current occupational attainment and /or respondent's first job status decreases.

4. An increase in social opportunity can be said to have occured to the extent father's occupational attainment's effect on respondent's current occupational status and/ or respondent's first job status decreases.

The status attainment approach enables the inclusion of several variables in a unified analysis; however, in order to achieve this, it is necessary to make difficult assumptions about these variables: for example, that they can be operationalized with a continuous scale, that their distribution approaches normality, and that there are no interactions between them.

The second approach of cross-tabulating categorical indicators of social background with individual achievement, while it does not enable the consideration of as many variables at one time, does not make these assumptions. The approach through the analysis of social mobility tables also allows a more critical analysis of the locus of openness--are all sectors of the opportunity structure opening up, or are there important variations by sector. To determine changes in social opportunity, a number of measures are available:

1. A simple measure of the proportion of a sample mobile out of their social group of origin.

2. A measure of circulation mobility which subtracts from the total proportion mobile those who had to move due to structural change.

3. A measure developed by Saburo Yasuda which, after taking account of structural change,establishes a ratio between the number mobile relative to perfect mobility, the situation where everyone is mobile.

Data and Operations

For an evaluation of change, it is most desirable to compute the above opportunity indicators for a series of surveys taken at several different points in time. In lieu of these ideal circumstances, it is possible to compute indicators for the different age groups of a single survey on the assumption that these age groups represent individuals who have searched for social opportunities at separate points in time. Fortunately, for the Japanese case we have in our possession data on the relevant operation that we obtained in two large national surveys of males in 1965 and 1975 which allow an inspection of very recent changes. In addition, we have several cross-tabulations for a 1955 survey that can be used for computing the social mobility indicators.

In preparation for the status attainment approach, we selected measures for the relevant variables that would be as precisely comparable as possible with the measures now being used in major studies conducted in Western societies. Thus for those variables dealing with occupational status, we first coded the answers of respondents with the detailed occupational code developed by the Japanese census and then indexed the resultant categories with Donald Treiman's Standard International Occupation Prestige Scale. And for those occupations involving education, we used a five-point educational status scale as indicated in Appendix Table A10.1.

For the social mobility approach, we initially classified the occupations of fathers and sons into nine standard groups as indicated in Appendix Table A10.2. Then we collapsed these groups into either three or four categories as suited our needs for comparsions. These procedures have enabled us both to consider recent Japanese trends as well as to make a few comparsions with the situation of other advanced societies.

General Mobility Trends

As an introduction to postwar Japanese trends in social opportunity, we present in Table 10.1 four general indicators of father-to-son mobility. In each case these indicators are computed from 3x3 mobility tables where the respective occupational groups are farmer, manual non-farm, and non-manual non-farm. Table 10.1 indicates a steady trend from Japan 1955 to 1975 of an increasing proportion of sons moving out of their father's class. In large part this trend is explained by structural changes which have "forced" increased mobility. However, according to the Yasuda coefficient of openness, even after taking account of these structural changes there is a trends towards greater independence of son's occupational location from that of father's. The extent of total mobility for the Japan 1975 survey is large relative to the other surveys reported in Table 10.1, as is the incidence of forced mobility. In comparsion, Japan 1975 has a modest level of circulation mobility and openness.

In Table 10.2 we present statistics on the association between father's occupation and son's first occupation. Of course, these two statistics are not strictly comparable, for sons do not realize their full occupational achievement at the time of their first job. On the other hand, by using this statistic it is possible to treat age groups

TABLE 10.1

Proportion Mobile, Coefficients of Forced Mobility, Circulation Mobility, and Coefficients of Openness Computed on 3x3 matrices for 11 national mobility surveys

Country	Proportion Mobile	Forced Mobility	Circulation Mobility	Coefficient of Openness	Survey Characteristics
USA	.506	.231	.275	.646	OCG, male 1962
Sweden	.468	.200	.268	.583	Carlsson male 1954
Puerto Rico	.511	.333	.178	.559	male householders 1954
Norway	.441	.186	.255	.526	male 1957
West Germany	.373	.120	.253	.490	male 1955
Italy	.336	.066	.270	.460	male date not clear
France	.320	.070	.250	.432	male 1948
Hungary	.350	.180	.170	.397	male, excludes farm, 1949
Japan 55	.363	.157	.206	.421	male 1955
Japan 65	.471	.292	.179	.481	male 1965
Japan 75	.506	.301	.205	.534	male 1976

Source: All the statistics except for Japan 55 and Japan 75 are taken from Saburo Uasuda, Shakai Ido no Kenkyu (Research on Social Mobility), Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1971, p. 186.

TABLE 10.2

PROPORTION MOBILE, COEFFICIENTS OF FORCED MOBILITY, CIRCULATION MOBILITY, YASUDA COEFFICIENTS OF OPENNESS, AND BOUDON MOBILITY COEFFICIENTS COMPUTED ON 3x3 MATRICES FOR SUBJECT'S FIRST OCCUPATION BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION ACROSS AGGREGATE AGE GROUPS* FOR JAPAN 1975 MALES AND JAPAN 1965 MALES

Decade of Birth	Proportion Mobile		Forced Mobility		Circulation Mobility		Yasuda Coefficient of Openness	
	1975	1965	1975	1965	1975	1965	1975	1965
Before 1900	....	.270	....	.165	....	.105	....	.271
1900-1910	.372	.397	.209	.236	.163	.161	.387	.429
1911-1920	.409	.383	.263	.231	.146	.152	.383	.370
1921-1930	.377	.468	.231	.238	.146	.230	.349	.361
1931-1940	.441	.409	.272	.198	.169	.211	.419	.464
1941-1950	.517	.510	.284	.251	.233	.259	.589	.653
1951-1955	.503	....	.269	....	.234	....	.600	....
TOTAL	.450	.417	.258	.217	.192	.200	.454	.457

*Sample size of Japan 1975 males is 2024
Sample size of Japan 1965 males is 1974

X-10

of a single survey as proxies for cohorts born at different points in time. In Table 10.2, the birth dates for these cohorts are indicated down the extreme left column. First looking along the bottom of Table 10.2 we find for the total sample a tendency of increased father to first occupation mobility from 1965 to 1975. However, in contrast with the father to present occupation trend, structural change fully accounts for the trend. There are virtually no differences in the incidence of circulation of mobility and the extent of openness between 1965 and 1975.

Turning to the indexes computed for age groups which enable enable inspection of trends over a long time span, we find considerable evidence of increased mobility, circulation mobility and openness over time. The major acceleration in this trend begins with the cohort born between 1941 and 1950 who began their occupational careers from about the mid-fifties. In other words, the major acceleration begins with the first cohort that was exposed to the new education of the postwar period.

Status Attainment

In the Appendix to this chapter we present the basic statistics used in carrying out a path analysis of the model indicated in Figure lo.1 for the 1965 and 1975 samples. Table 10.3 summarizes several of these statistics as well as parallel statistics computed from findings reported by Featherman et al for a 1962 American national sample and a 1965 Australia national sample where the variables with identical indexes. First we consider the two Japanese surveys.

TABLE 10.3

Selected Statistics Relating Father's Occupation and Education to Respondent's Achievements from Path Analyses of Japan 65, Japan 75, the U.S., and Australia

Statistics On Father's Occupation:	Relation to R's Education	Relation to R's First Occupation	Relation to R's Current Occupation
Correlation Coefficients			
Japan 65	.336	.239	.285
Japan 75	.303	.199	.224
U.S.	.219	.216	.240
Australia	.189	.163	.204
Direct Effects			
Japan 65	.212	.102	.126
Japan 75	.157	.102	.077
U.S.	.092	.109	.126
Australia	.069	.089	.114
Total Effects			
Japan 65	.212	.186	.239
Japan 75	.157	.154	.168
U.S.	.092	.143	.185
Australia	.069	.115	.161
Statistics on Father's Education:			
Correlation Coefficients			
Japan 65	.459	.225	.218
Japan 75	.495	.199	.231
U.S.	.445	.283	.237
Australia	.472	.210	.226
Direct Effects			
Japan 65	.390	.011	-.008
Japan 75	.443	.015	.020
U.S.	.417	.083	-.005
Australia	.454	.006	.048
Total Effects			
Japan 65	.390	.166	.221
Japan 75	.443	.150	.103
U.S.	.417	.239	.181
Australia	.454	.180	.195
R^2 for the Achievement Variables			
Japan 65	.250	.200	.296
Japan 75	.267	.128	.273
U.S.	.206	.210	.250
Australia	.228	.170	.184

Source: U.S. data is OCG 62 and Australian is from 1965 national survey of males; coefficients reported in David L. Featherman, F. Lancaster Jones, and Robert M. Hauser, "Assumptions of Social Mobility Research in the U.S.: The Case of Occupational Status," Social Science Research 4, 329-360 (1975).

Consistent with the finding from our analysis of mobility tables, these statistics provide a clear indication of a decrease from 1965 to 1975 in the relation between father's occupation and all subsequent achievements. All of the correlation coefficients, direct effects, and total effects of father's occupation, respondent's first occupation, and respondent's current occupation decrease in magnitude between 1965 and 1975. In addition, as we could not demonstrate with the mobility tables, the pattern of a decreasing impact of father's occupation also holds for respondent's educational attainment. If the above were our sole criteria, we could conclude that postwar Japan conforms to the expectations of meritocratic educational reformers.

However, turning to the statistics on father's education, the second background indicator, the above trend is contradicted. In general, th ough the 1965 to 1975 contrasts are not as great, several run in the opposite direction to what would be expected in a rising meritocracy. The correlation between father's education and son's education as well as that between father's education and current occupation increases. Also in these two instancew, the direct effect of father's education increases. Only in the case of father's education to current occupation does the total effect sharply decrease.

The contrasting trend for father's occupation in comparsion with father's education is our first indication in this chapter that the expectations of the meritocratic policy have not been fully realized in postwar Japan.

Examination by age group of the path coefficients of the background variables on educational attainment and first job status presents a more complicated picture (Appendix Tables A10.6 and A10.7. For the 1965 and 1975 surveys, the effect of father's occupation on respondent's education appears stable over time while its impact on initial job status may decrease somewhat. Concerning father's education's effect on educational attainment, the 1965 survey indicates a trend increasing effect but the 1975 survey suggests this effect may be declining for the most recent cohorts. Neither survey indicates any obvious trend in the relation between father's education and respondent's first job status. While we have attempted above to identify the evident trends, we emphasize that none are strong. In fact, what seems most impressive about the age group data is the irregularities in the strength of coefficients from one age group to the next. In part, these irregularities may be attributed to measurement error. However, we expect that other complexities of recent Japanese experience including the impact of war on the population's age structure, the rapid expansion of the educational system, and the rapid economic growth with the accompanying transformation of industrial and occupational structures also contribute to these fluctuations. Over the past several decades, few modern nations have experienced such extraordinary social change as Japan. In view of these complexities and the indication of several negative findings, it seems inappropriate to draw major conclusions about the extent to which postwar Japan is or is not conforming to the meritocratic argument.

Finally, let us briefly consider how the Japanese coefficients compare with those for Australia and the U.S. The most obvious contrast is in the tendency for the coefficients relating father's occupation to subsequent achievement to be somewhat stronger in the case of Japan.than in the two other societies whereas father's education appears to have a weaker impact in the case of Japan. On the other hand, as we indicated above, for Japan between 1965 and 1975 the impact of father's occupation decreased while father's education increased. Is it possible that the Japanese pattern is coming closer to the pattern of the two Western societies?

Conclusion

This note provides evidence that Japan has made advances over the postwar period towards expanding her educational and social opportunities. Indeed by some indicators Japan has surpassed the level of other advanced societies. However, the actual situation in Japan is extremely complex making it difficult to draw strong conclusions concerning the extent of Japan's conformity to the meritocratic policy.

TABLE A10.1

THE DEVELOPING ECONOMIES

Index of Educational Attainment

Type of School	Typical No. of Years a Student Is in School before Completing This School Level	Level
Elementary school - 1970	6	1.0
Elementary school - 1941	6	
Elementary school - 1900	4	
Upper elementary	6	1.5
Unknown - among oldest age group	?	
Lower secondary school - 1970	9	
Middle school, vocational school - 1941	10-11	2.0
Middle school, vocational school - 1900	11	
Upper secondary school - 1970	12-13	3.0
Higher schools - 1941, normal schools - 1941	13	
Higher schools - 1900, normal schools - 1900	12-15	
Technical college - 1970	14	
Junior college - 1970	14-15	4.0
Colleges - 1941, higher normal schools - 1941	14-16	
Colleges - 1900, higher normal schools - 1900	14-16	
University or graduate school - 1970	16+	5.0
University - 1941	16+	
University	17+	

TABLE A10.2

OCCUPATIONAL SURVEYS FOR THE THREE JAPANESE NATIONAL SURVEYS

	1955	1965	1975
1. Professional, technical, kindred	7%	6%	7%
2. Managers, officials, proprietors, non-farm	5%	9%	10%
3. Clerical and kindred	12%	14%	13%
4. Sales	13%	18%	12%
5. Skilled	12%	15%	30%
6. Semi-skilled	8%	13%	10%
7. Unskilled	6%	7%	3%
8. Farmers, fishers, lumber	38%	19%	16%
	1866	1970	2338

TABLE A10.3

COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION FOR JAPANESE 1965 MALES AGED 25-64 (ABOVE DIAGONAL) AND JAPANESE 1975 MALES AGED 25-64 (BELOW DIAGONAL) BASED ON OFFICIAL JAPANESE OCCUPATIONAL CODE AND TREIMAN STANDARD INTERNATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE SCALE

	FA's ED.	FA's Occ.	R's Ed.	R's 1st. Ed.	R's Current Job	Mean	SD
Father's education	....	.318	.458	.225	.218	1.58	.92
Father's occupation	.328	....	.336	.239	.285	42.08	9.43
Respondent's education	.495	.294	....	.436	.427	2.47	.99
Respondent's 1st occupa.	.200	.202	.343	....	.470	36.57	8.68
Respondent's current occupation	.230	.225	.390	.449	....	42.24	11.39
Mean	1.78	39.1	2.77	37.6	41.2		
SD	1.07	13.7	1.08	9.9	13.5		

TABLE A10.4

Standardized and Metric Regression Coefficients
for Three-Equation Stratification Model,
Japan 1965 Males Aged 25-64

	Independent variables					
Dependent variable	Father's Education	Father's Occupation	Education	First Occupation	a	R^2
			Standardized coefficients			
Treiman Prestige scores						
1. Education	.390	.212				.250
2. First Occupation	.011	.102	.397			.200
3. Current Occupation	-.008	.126	.242	.336		.296
			Metric coefficients			
Treiman Prestige scores						
1. Education	.420 (.024)[a]	.002 (.000)			.874	
2. First Occupation	.105 (.235)	.009 (.002)	3.493 (.220)		23.807	
3. Current Occupation	-.100 (.289)	.015 (.003)	2.793 (.290)	.044 (.003)	12.942	

[a] Standard errors in parentheses

TABLE A10.5

STANDARDIZED AND METRIC REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR THREE-EQUATION STRATIFICATION MODEL, JAPANESE 1975 MALES AGED 25-64

	Independent Variables						
	Father's Education	Father's Occupational Status	R's Education	Initial Occupational Status	a	R^2	$1-R^2$
				Standardized Coefficients			
Treiman Prestige Scores							
1. R's education	.444	.157	....	....		.268	.856
2. Initial occ. status	.102	.015	.305	....		.128	.934
3. Present occ. status	.020	.077	.232	.356		.273	.853
				Metric Coefficients			
1. R's education	.453 (.020)	.013 (.002)	....	....	1.489		
2. Initial occ. status	.141 (.224)	.076 (.016)	2.790 (.218)	....	26.728		
3. Present occ. status	.254 (.278)	.077 (.020)	2.880 (.280)	.483 (.027)	11.571		

[a] Standard errors in parentheses

TABLE A10.6

SIMPLE CORRELATIONS AND STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS (BETA COEFFICIENTS) FOR JAPANESE AGE COHORTS OF 1965

		Father's Job Status		Father's Education		Education		Initial Job Status	
Age Group	dep. var.	r	Stand. Coeff.	r	Stand. Coeff.	r	Stand. Coeff.	r	Stand. Coeff.
20-24	Education	.196	.013	.459	.453	....	....	....	....
	Initial job status	.212	.132	.240	.006	.422	.393	....	....
	Present job status	.248	.070	.254	-.020	.466	.150	.811	.738
25-34	Education	.418	.299	.437	.329	....	....	....	....
	Initial job status	.283	.099	.228	-.002	.484	.444	....	....
	Present job status	.311	.079	.242	.010	.485	.203	.627	.504
35-44	Education	.359	.200	.505	.431	....	....	....	....
	Initial job status	.302	.136	.308	.048	.488	.416	....	....
	Present job status	.353	.124	.380	.123	.476	.171	.565	.406
45-54	Education	.373	.268	.384	.286	....	....	....	....
	Initial job status	.295	.153	.271	.108	.375	.277	....	....
	Present job status	.380	.171	.249	-.035	.557	.428	.413	.212
55-64	Education	.321	.268	.258	.177	....	....	....	....
	Initial job status	.254	.084	.181	.026	.538	.504	....	....
	Present job status	.256	.133	.078	-.070	.374	.138	.488	.392
65+	Education	.435	.386	.275	.150	....	....	....	....
	Initial job status	.584	.404	.333	.111	.538	.332	....	....
	Present job status	.469	.154	.210	-.026	.407	.083	.617	.491

TABLE A10.7

SIMPLE CORRELATIONS AND STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS (BETA COEFFICIENTS) FOR JAPANESE AGE COHORTS OF 1975

		Independent Variable							
		Father's Job Status		Father's Education		Education		Initial Job Status	
Age Group	Dep. Var.	Simpler	Stand. Coeff.	Simp. r	Stand. Coeff.	r	Stand. Coeff.	r	Stand. Coeff.
20-24	Education	.340	.262	.338	.259	....	....	....	....
	Initial job status	.307	.171	.144	-.061	.492	.455	....	....
	Present job status	.207	-.023	.074	-.064	.442	.158	.698	.637
25-34	Education	.324	.200	.421	.351	....	....	....	....
	Initial job status	.214	.050	.259	.051	.488	.450	....	....
	Present job status	.207	.017	.266	.043	.472	.187	.641	.535
35-44	Education	.404	.250	.496	.400	....	....	....	....
	Initial job status	.292	.110	.288	.043	.475	.409	....	....
	Present job status	.286	.073	.274	.011	.476	.300	.465	.298
45-54	Education	.363	.231	.490	.417	....	....	....	....
	Initial job status	.207	.083	.210	.029	.361	.317	....	....
	Present job status	.259	.070	.369	.192	.420	.213	.373	.241
55-64	Education	.366	.186	.577	.511	....	....	....	....
	Initial job status	.290	.132	.360	.146	.424	.292	....	....
	Present job status	.217	-.034	.394	.077	.553	.417	.438	.243
65+	Education	.182	.162	.514	.508	....	....	....	....
	Initial job status	.305	.231	.122	-.107	.414	.427	....	....
	Present job status	.152	.014	.173	.054	.323	.144	.430	.360

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE LESSONS OF JAPANESE EDUCATION

This final chapter is intended to summarize the principle findings of this study and identify their practical and theoretical implications. In the first section, we identify nine characteristics of Japanese education that contrast with American education. In the second section, we outline six arguments that were developed in earlier chapters which related the distinctive characteristics of Japanese education to six important outcomes:

1. public interest in education
2. relative equality in the cognitive achievement and motivation of school children
3. high average level of cognitive achievement
4. transmission of the egalitarian moral sentiment
5. egalitarian social change
6. equalization of social opportunity

Also, we consider some of the practical and theoretical implications of those arguments. Finally, in the third section, we review a few of the problems which trouble contemporary Japanese education, and speculate on the future.

I. Distinctive Characteristics of Japanese Education

One of the reasons for our focus on Japan is its resemblance to the U.S. in so many respects. Both nations are advanced capitalist societies with a democratic political system. Japan's population is slightly more than half of that of the U.S. with an adult educational level that is, as in the American case, comparatively high. Since World War II, the formal structure of the educational system has resembled that found in many American school districts, i.e., a single track structure partitioned into a six-year primary school, a three-year middle school, a three-year high school, and a diverse program of post-secondary educational institutions centered in the university. Today, the Japanese system offers as great an opportunity to young people for post-secondary education as the American system.

However, Japan is markedly different. The nation is more centralized, more densely populated, and more racially homogeneous. Its cultural heritage is more complex, being based on diverse Asian traditions as well as on modern Western culture from which it has profusely borrowed over the last hundred years. Finally, there are a number of specific ways in which Japanese education differs from the U.S. The following educational differences stand out as being of greatest importance in our effort to explain Japan's successes.

1. Diverse interests in Japan are concerned with education. Japan, as a late developer, was one of the first societies to treat education as a tool for national development. The central governmental and business elites looked upon education as a means for training a skilled labor force and highly qualified manpower, for identifying prospective elites, and for teaching a common culture.

Over the postwar period, the powerful Japan Teacher' Union has emerged to challenge the ruling elite's traditional educational policies. The union has emphasized the educational system's capacity for developing rich personalities and critical abilities; and, in alliance with progressive political parties, the union has repeatedly sought the support of rank and file teachers in political efforts aimed at toppling the ruling conservative regime. These battles at the central level, extensively covered by the mass media, have served to sharpen public understanding of education and its supposed consequences.

The public is disturbed by this highly competitive nature of post-compulsory education and tends to believe that government policies are responsible for this situation. Thus, there is considerable popular approval of the teachers' union with its emphasis on the humanistic and self-actualizing goals of education. At the same time, however, the public believes that individual success in education leads to personal advancement. Thus, families invest enormous amounts of time and energy to promoting the educational success of their own children. The responses to the educational system by its many participants are diverse and often contradictory. Yet out of this confusion emerges an impressive level of interest in education.

2. Japanese schools are inexpensive. Educational costs to the Japanese taxpayer are comparatively small in relation to the high standards it has achieved. In 1973, Japan's public expenditures for education comprised only 4.9% of the national income. In contrast, the expenditures relative to national income for the Soviet Union, the U.S., and the United Kingdom were 8.3%, 7.0%, and 7.8%, respectively. Among the advanced societies, only France spent a smaller proportion (4.6%) of her national income on public education.[1] Moreover,

despite Japan's relatively small proportion of national income devoted to public education, a comparatively large proportion of actual expenditures went for new buildings and equipment, while personnel expenditures were modest. (Table 11.1)

Higher student-teacher ratios are part of the explanation for Japan's modest proportion of expenditures devoted to personnel. In addition, it should be noted that Japanese schools hire relatively few auxiliary personnel. Students and teachers perform services that are likely to be discharged by specialized personnel in other societies. Regular teachers perform many of the clerical and counseling activities that are handled by specialists in the U.S. Students deliver and serve lunches, clean the classrooms and grounds, and operate school facilities such as the library and public address system. This unpaid labor significantly cuts down on costs. Consequently, Japanese schools have relatively more money available for plant investment.

3. Japanese schools are equal. The postwar public concern with education has placed pressure on the central government to reduce inequalities in per-student educational expenditures. Today, at the compulsory level there is virtually no variation between prefectures in annual operating expenditures per student. While some areas lead and others lag in the introduction of the latest educational technology such as color T.V.s, language laboratories, and the like, remarkable equality in distribution has been established with respect to the essentials.[2] Similarly, teachers tend universally to have similar qualifications; the major exceptions are those prefectures which have lost population to the large cities. In these

TABLE 11.1

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOL EXPENDITURES

	Personnel; Teacher's Expenditures and Salaries	Capital Investment; Debt service on investments	Student-Teacher Ratio
Japan '73	46.5%	28.7%	27
United States '71	58.6%	12.1%	22
England '72	50.2%	24.6%	28
France	79.1%	9.8%	23

Source: Mombusho, Wagakuni no Kyoiku Suijun (Educational Standards in Japan); 1975; p. 145,148,94 prefectures few new teachers have been hired for several years and, hence, the teacher age distribution is older.

Some of the government's equalizing measures are directed at disadvantaged social groups. For example, one law subsidizes children from low income families to pay for school lunches, excursions, and other regular activities. Another law includes provisions aimed at equalizing the educational conditions of children in remote areas: the law provides transport subsidies to enable children living on small islands to ride boats to mainland schools, and it authorizes hardship salary supplements so as to induce skilled teachers to take positions in these areas.[3] Over the past few years, the government has begun to put additional funds into the schools which receive children from the "outcaste" burakumin community. As these outcaste children traditionally have done poorly in schools, the supplements are used to pay for after-school tutoring and other compensatory educational measures. In some cases, the compensation programs are so intensive that per-student expenditures for outcaste children are three times as great as the expenditures for the other children.

The system of finance for Japanese education has greatly facilitated the realization of equal expenditures. Japanese school boards are not nearly as dependent on local property taxes as their American counterparts. School districts in Japan tend to be much larger, which facilitates access to a wide variety of local tax sources. Moreover, for most categories of educational expenditures such as salaries, texts, and lunches, the central government is required by law to pay half of the expenses required to realize the national standard. The national laws on educational expenditures also include equalizing measures to help prefectures which, due to special features of geography, population structure, or industrial composition, experience difficulty in collecting sufficient tax revenues.

4. Japanese schools are demanding. The central government's role in providing a large share of educational revenues enables it to exert considerable leverage over certain aspects of the educational process.

The central government drafts a detailed Course of Study prescribing the contents of the curriculum, and inspects commercial texts to insure that they conform to the official standard. One virtue of this procedure is that children throughout the nation are exposed to a common body of knowledge in an identical sequence.

At the same time, we should note that the curriculum is demanding. It covers a wider range of subjects and pursues these in greater depth than is the case for the curriculum of a typical U.S. school district. The differences are evident from the first grade of primary school. Young Japanese pupils spend a larger proportion of their time in subjects such as art, music, and physical education than do American students.[4] Whereas many American schools do not offer a science curriculum at the primary school level, this is offered in Japan from the first grade. In arithmetic, a subject which is central to both the Japanese and American curricula, the Japanese texts move faster than a typical American text. In sum, the Japanese curriculum demands more.

In order to cover the demanding crriculum, the government requires each school to operate an educational program for at least 240 days each year, in contrast with 180 days for American schools. In most cases, this means that children attend school six days a week for over 40 weeks. School occupies a very central place in the lives of Japanese children.

5. The school is the educational unit. The foreign observer is impressed with the extent to which schools, rather than individual grade levels and classes, constitute the basic unit for integrating the levels and classes. At the primary level, one finds and orderly progression from preparation for schooling in the early years to intense and disciplined cognitive training towards the end. Teachers, while in charge of a particular class, feel a responsibility to speak to students from other classes when they see these children misbehaving in the halls or on the grounds. Most teachers eventually gain experience in teaching at several different grade levels.

The faculty meeting, as the basic decision-making body of the school, works to realize the school's integrated program. Each Spring, it decides on an educational objective for the entire school and plans a schedule of school events around this objective. The faculty reassesses the school's progress periodically. In these general reviews, as in discussions on specific pedagogical issues, there is considerable communication between teachers responsible for different grade levels and specialties. Other aspects of school life from the weekly chorei (early morning school assembly) to club activities and festive occasions, such as sports day, reflect the emphasis on the school as the basic educational unit.

6. Japanese teachers are secure. Teaching in Japan is a respected profession. Teachers receive social status and a reasonable salary. Most teachers expect to spend their complete working life as teachers. As public servants, they automatically receive tenure upon initial employment, providing no special circumstances intervene. In the past, one possible circumstance that could have led to a teacher's dismissal was the feeling by a local elite or official unit that a teacher was not performing his job in a satisfactory manner. But today, in most areas of Japan, teachers do not have to fear dismissal on this basis. Roughly three-fourths of all teachers belong to the strong All Japan Teachers' Union, which is prepared to fight for each teacher's right to employment. In the past, too, the union saved the jobs of a number of teachers at much embarrassment to local governments. Thus, teachers do not fear the governments which employ them.

When employers make unreasonable requests, teachers some times express their reservations. In other instances, teachers ignore or prevent the implementation of official requests. For example, when the central government passed a law requiring school principals to fill out job-performance evaluations for each teacher under their authority, teachers in most areas persuaded the principals to ignore the regulation, arguing that it would destroy staff harmony. Likewise, teachers feel secure enough to stand up against pressure exerted by powerful parents. At the same time, teachers do not always comply with the requests of their union. Many teachers who are members of the union do not support the union's explicit politically-oriented protests such as the outbursts it organized against American involvement in the Vietnam War.

The security which teachers enjoy enables them to run their schools without excessive influence from any outside body. Teachers spend a large amount of time each year deciding what their school should attempt to accomplish. This discussion takes account of the various external pressures, but is unlikely to submit to anyone. Balancing the external demands, the teachers reach a collective agreement on the program they want to pursue for their school. Over the course of the year, they then do their best to realize it. They are at once autonomous from external power and responsive to these pressures. It is because the egalitarian line of the Teachers' Union has been among the more credible of the external influences that it has had such a significant impact on the policies of individual schools.

7. Japanese teachers are conscientious. A number of mechanisms are built into the school routine to induce teachers to do their best. In each school, teachers spend a surprising amount of time discussion teaching in general--at the morning and weekly faculty meetings, the biweekly research meetings, and the quarterly public research seminars. In addition, the teachers who teach a common grade level share desks and frequently consult with each other on ways to solve specific problems. This interaction establishes a collective expectation for good teaching within each school that individual teachers feel constrained to live up to. Moreover, local school boards and the Japan Teachers' association arrange pedagogical seminars which many attend.

To enhance communication with parents, teachers make a point of visiting each pupil's home to meet the pupil's parents at least once each school year. These visits also help teachers learn about the home circumstances of their pupils. Many teachers, based on this information, make adjustments in their routine to provide better in-school opportunities for those children who lack favorable home situations. Parents are officially invited to the school once a month to watch their children in the classroom. Once every quarter, parents have an opportunity to discuss their child's progress with teachers. Parents are given the telephone numbers of their child's teachers and encouraged to call if there is any special problem. The concerned eye of the ordinary parent is another factor inducing teacher conscientiousness.

It is sometimes charged that todays teachers are not as dedicated as previous generations. They go home earlier, spend less time after school in review sessions with problem students, and are less likely to invite pupils to their homes for tea and talk. It is difficulty to evaluate these charges. Perhaps the critics also forget some of the postwar trends that impinge on teacher and student time budgets. The contemporary curriculum is more demanding, requiring teachers to set aside more time for preparation. School days are at least a half-hour longer than before the war. Due to urbanization, todays teacher must spend a considerable amount of time commuting to school. Finally, many pupils today do not want to spend after-school time with their teachers as the pupils have their own heavy schedules of after-school activities including piano lessons, extra-study schools, and athletics.

8. Japanese teachers believe in whole-person education. We have discussed the spectre of exam competition and the concern many parents express for their child's cognitive development. Japanese teachers recognize these demands and do their best to respond. However, they feel their most important task is to develop well-rounded people, not just intellects. The officially prescribed curriculum provides an important vehicle for whole-person education. Along with the standard academic subjects, the curriculum also sets aside a substantial amount of time for systematic instruction in art, music, physical education and moral education. Teachers seem to be as conscientious in their attention to these as to the standard academic subjects.

The concern with whole-person education is especially evident in the early years of primary school where teachers work hard to establish order and to induce their pupils to perform in the classroom. During these early years, teachers are more concerned with getting all of their pupils involved in learning than with making progress through the curriculum. This concern with proper behaviour and motivation yields important long-run dividends. For instance, orderly classrooms mean that most of the school time can be spent on learning. Due to the attention to pupil motivation, dropouts are exceedingly rare. While some pupils fall behind, nearly all who are mentally able acquire a basic proficiency in reading, writing, public speaking, arithmetic, and graphics by the time they complete their compulsory education.

Another aspect of whole-person education is the effort teachers devote to moral education. Both through the moral education course and through a wide range of other activities, teachers try to convey certain moral principles to their pupils. We were impressed with the stress on egalitarian, individualistic and participatory orientations. At the same time, we appreciated the teacher's efforts to convey conventional values of friendship, cordiality, cooperation, and discipline.

9. Japanese teaching is equitable. The embattled conditions in which Japan's teachers are trained and work help to make them ideologically mature. The continuing battle between the central government and the teachers' union highlights the implications of educational actions.

Given its traditional concern with education as a means for identifying and furthering talent, the central government has advocated tracking and ability-group instruction. However, the union has opposed these reforms arguing that they would destroy the harmony of classrooms and the collective feeling that exists among age-mates. A common phrase in the union's rhetoric of opposition is discrimination. Union leaders appreciate that tracking could end up with lower class and minority group children being permanently assigned to low-ability tracks.

Teachers are sensitized by these debates, and this affects their behavior. In the classrooms, teachers show an impressive concern with eliciting the participation of each pupil, thereby building up a positive orientation to schoolwork. Few teachers openly show favoritism to their best pupils, nor do they denigrate the performance of the weak perfomers. Rather, the teachers do what they can, given the constraints of time and the curriculum, to pull all pupils through the program.

II. The Determinants of Japan's Educational Achievements

In the body of our report, we developed six arguments to explain the achievements of Japanese education. The first of these, the exceptional concern manifested in Japan vis-a-vis education provides a background for the other five. These arguments can be summarized as follows:

1. The determinants of concern with education.
    - a. The "old system"nationalistic and utilitarian tradition of education is respected by important elements of the ruling class.
    - b. The centralization of educational and economic institutions enables industrial and business elites to advance the educational system as a supplier of scarce manpower. Moreover, it helps to focus popular attention on the link between educational success and the attainment of prestigious social positions.
    - c. The postwar constitution and the educational laws legitimate an educational system with humanistic and democratic goals. The nationalistic and utilitarian orientations of conservative elites often seem to contradict these ideals.
    - d. The broad sense of public confusion with the appropriate goals for child socialization results in the public's demand that the schools play a key role in moral education.
    - e. The rising affluence of the population enables growing numbers to consider sending their children

on for higher education and, hence, heightens their concern with their children's educational performance.

f. The emergence of a strong idological teachers' union which champions the constitution's educational ideals has resulted in articulate opposition to the traditional and utilitarian policies of conservative groups. The union's objections are generally reported in the national news media, thereby continually bringing educational issues to the attention of the general public.

2. Cognitive and Motivational Equality.

a. Given Japan's rapid urbanization, the majority of young people live in cities. There is much less socioeconomic segregation in the Japanese city than is typical for the U.S. Thus, public schools, especially at the primary level, tend to be composed of students with diverse class and family background characteristics.

b. Adhering to its constitutional obligation to "provide equal education to all according to their ability", the central government has developed an impressive program to ensure equality of educational facilities during the years of compulsory education. It also promotes a standard curriculum for the entire nation.

c. The schools are organically organized with a minimum of internal differentiation. For example, there are no special teachers, and ability tracking is not practiced.

d. Many of the teachers are ideologically committed to equality. They try to bring all the students up by creating a positive situation where all pupils receive rewards. This is facilitated by adjusting the classroom pace to the learning rates of students and by relying on students to tutor each other.

e. Teachers find that their best response to parental concern is to provide equal education to all students irrespective of their ability or family status.

3. The determinants of the achievement effect.

a. The general concern with education places pressure on students to excel.

b. Equal education minimizes the incidence of exceptionally low achievers.

c. The centrally prepared curriculum is demanding geared to the learning rate of the better-than-average student.

d. Students spend far more hours at school than do their counterparts in most other advanced societies.

e. According to the norm of an orderly classroom, a relatively large proportion of classroom time is devoted to actual instruction, as contrasted with efforts by teachers to maintain order.

f. Students perceive school as interesting (expecially in the primary years) and generally have a positive attitude toward learning.

g. Teaching tends to be a lifetime occupation. In addition, Japanese teachers are relatively active in government- and union-sponsored workshops which introduce new teaching techniques. Their experience committment contribute to effective instruction and teaching habits.

4. Egalitarian Moral Orientations.

   a. In the realm of actual instruction, Japan's teachers are relatively free from external influence. Neither parents nor their local government has the power to dismiss a teacher who engages in "biased" instruction.

   b. Many teachers approve of egalitarian values, and a minority are committed to using the educational system as a vehicle for revolutionizing the "consciousness" of young people.

   c. The schools approach "total" institutions.

   d. The schools are organically organized.

   e. Particularly during the early years of primary education, i.e., those years when children begin to develop the higher stages of moral reasoning, the Japanese system stresses moral education.

   f. The relative equality in cognitive performance detracts from the propensity of children to rank each other in terms of performance. Instead, the children are disposed to see themselves as working together to master the curriculum. The lack of hierarchy within the classroom is consistent with the egalitarian moral messages conveyed by the teacher.

   g. Until children leave school for the workplace, most of their experiences reinforce the early egalitarian moral instruction.

5. Education's contribution to egalitarian social change.

   a. The schools teach certain moral orientations which promote continuity and harmony.

   b. At the same time, they inculcate egalitarian and humanistic values which are inconsistent with the role expectations institutionalized in many adult social structures.

c. While representatives from key institutional areas oppose this "subversive" type of education, they find that the political balance underlying the school system is difficult to overturn.

d. Most of the social networks to which young people belong tend to support the values learned in school. Employers are the major critics of the youth's egalitarian values, but the employer's efforts at desocialization are neutralized by the support young people find in their peer groups.

e. The strains that the new generations of young people experience as they attempt to fit into adult society lead them to exert pressure for various changes of a broadly egalitarian nature.

f. The relatively equal levels of ability and motivation fostered by the Japanese schools facilitate the adaptation of young workers to more egalitarian social structures.

6. The equalization of educational and social opportunities.

a. Egalitarian education has provided increasing proportions of successive cohorts of young people with the cognitive skills and motivation necessary for advanced education.

b. As a resulty, increasing proportions of young people have sought and attained advanced education. With the decreasing variance in educational attainment, social background variables decline as predictions of individual attainment.

c. Egalitarian education has taught young people to recognize the intrinsic rewards of occupations, and has modified the traditional value placed on secure high status occupations of the modern sectors.

d. As a result, young people have become more flexible in their occupational choices, and social background appears to have a decreasing influence on individual status achievement.

Some Implications of the Central Arguments

It is not unusual to hear arguments for Japan's educational achievements which begin with the premise that the Japanese people highly value education. Our first argument indicates this concern with education is not simply a reflection of personal values. Instead, concern emerges where actors believe that education is instrumental in affecting their interests. Concern is also generated through conflict over educational goals and practices.

In the U.S., educational issues are among the most important issues in local elections, and few nations spend as large a proportion of their national income on education. However, in recent years one senses that large segments of the American people have lost faith in public education. The U.S. requires a more penetrating and positive debate on educational matters. The Japanese case suggests the important role a teachers' union can play in provoking creative dialogue, provided the union devotes attention to educational goals and processes along with typical trade union issues. The Japanese teachers' union in its attempt to gain the respect of parents as well as to maintain the allegiance of teachers, has been forced to focul on educational issues. Most American teachers' unions are still at the stage of struggling for bargaining rights and better working conditions.

Our second argument concerns the conditions leading to equal cognitive outcomes. We noted how many of the educational strategies that Japanese teachers have developed resemble the theory of mastery learning advocated by Benjamin Bloom and his colleagues.[5]

There are, however, several differences which should be recognized. Our account devotes more attention to the external conditions that facilitate egalitarian education. Widespread parental concern is one of these. A standardized curriculum and equal educational facilities are also included in our list. However, of even greater importance are the ideological sensitivity of teachers and their sense of security. These latter conditions enable teachers to resist the selfish influence of individual parents. Thus, while the children in many Japanese classrooms come from homes that vary widely in socioeconomic status, these status differences have little effect on teacher-student interaction.

Our third argument identifies several factors behind Japan's high level of cognitive achievement. It has often been suggested that Japanese children perform well in school because their families provide an exceptional level of support. We agree that family support becomes an important factor in the later stages of schooling, and that it helps some children raise their achievement level above their age-mates. However, through the earlier years of middle school, this factor is not so critical. Rather, we are more impressed with the demanding curriculum, the quality of teachers, and above all, with the concern teachers show for pupil motivation. The Japanese teacher during the early years focuses the major part of his attention on motivation, even at the expense of "progress" in covering the curriculum. The teacher only moves forward in the curriculum when all of the young pupils are ready. Throughout these early school years, the teacher tries to reward and encourage each and every pupil. As a result, the Japanese school inculcates basic academic skills in virtually all of its pupils. The initial stress on motivation and mastery results in the modest incidence of low scores on achievement tests.

The Japanese school's emphasis on moral education is perhaps its most outstanding characteristic. It is responsible for a wide variety of other educational and social outcomes: the orderliness of the classroom and of society, the comparatively harmonious social interaction characteristic of Japan, and the unity and cohesiveness of the Japanese nation. American schools, particularly at the primary level, have steadily retreated from the firm moral emphasis favored by the Puritans. Todays children languish in classrooms, chewing gum and talking as teachers blithely ignore these improprieties. The courts have forbidden bible lessons, spankings as a disciplinary technique, and a host of other particulars that made up the school's traditional moral curriculum. Teachers have become so fearful of exceeding the authority of their role that they adhere resolutely to the academic curriculum. Only in America's colleges do we hear educators speak of the need for moral education.

Yet, by the time children reach college-age, it is difficult for educational institutions to achieve a moral impact. Japanese educators have wisely shaped an educational system that emphasizes moraleducation an an early age.

Moral education in the Japanese school is not simply another course in the curriculum. The entire faculty of a school develops a comprehensive vision of the morality it wishes to convey to its pupils, and then the entire school program is shaped so as to reinforce this vision. School assemblies, excursions, school events, daily lunches, and an array of other perfunctory activities serve as vehicles for achieving moral education.

Procedures which break up the organic integrity of the school and of its constituent classroom groups are believed to detract from moral education. Thus, in the Japanese primary school, the same instructor teaches all the subjects, and subject specialists are rarely employed. In normal times, the same teachers and pupils stay together for two consecutive years. Ability tracking is avoided. In the middle schools, students are placed in homerooms which teachers visit instead of having the students parade from classroom to classroom. The totality of the Japanese educational experience--the more numerous school days, the heavier assignments, the extensive extracurricular program--enhances the impact of moral education.

It would require a major commitment on the part of American education to approximate the Japanese approach to moral education, more perhaps than Americans can muster. Local government budget directors and teachers' unions would resist the lengthening of the school year. Teachers would experience difficulty in achieving a consensus on the moral traits to be emphasized. Parents of particular ethnic and class groups represented in the school might challenge the moral education program in the courts.

Finally, it is the Japanese school's emphasis on morality that enables it to promote change. American neo-radical theorists insist that the schools are subordinate to the ruling class, and insofar as the schools teach values, these are values that "correspond" to the prevailing social order. Hence, the schools are unable to promote change. In the Japanese case, we find that school budgets and curricula are controlled by the ruling class, but the teachers, acting through their unions, have managed to buffer classroom activities from external control. Because many teachers do not accept the ruling class's vision for Japanese society, they do not follow its guidelines for moral education. Many teachers identify with the task of building a more equal society where the people participate in the organizations that shape their lives. Japan's teachers build this egalitarian sentiment into their instruction, and their success in this "inconsistent" education leads to the violation of the correspondence principle.

While our social change thesis is not addressed directly to the traditional liberal emphasis on equality through opportunity, it does carry resounding implications. The liberal position has always stressed the school's role in imparting cognitive skills, whereas the Japanese experience highlights the importance of moral education. While the liberal position is content with the prevailing hierarchical order, the Japanese case indicates the efficacy of levelling these hierarchies. Reducing basic inequalities contributes to the dissolution of inequalities in educational and social opportunity.

III. Strains in Japanese Education

Given our concern with lessons for the U.S., we have stressed the positive side of Japanese education. However, the Japanese parent who sends his child to school is much more likely to emphasize the problems of Japanese education--the lack of individual attention in the schools, the hell of examination preparation, and the inequality of opportunity. Teachers are dissatisfied with inadequate public educational expenditures, the excesses and inconsistencies in the official curriculum, and the long school year. Established elites complain that the schools fail to produce the ideal Japanese, that too few children select vocational courses, and that those who go on to college are not as knowledgeable nor as creative as should be expected. Each of the constituents of Japanese education has a long list of complaints, and since the student revolt of the mid-sixties many of these groups have drafted reform proposals.

The entrance examination system, which monitors the movement of youth into elite secondary schools and universities, may well be the most severely criticized institution in the Japanese educational system. Many of the problems of the school system stem from the need to prepare students for these entrance exams. For example, the school curriculum, rather than responding to the diverse interests of students, is standardized so that all children can benefit from an equal educational background when they compete for university entrance. The public school curriculum is demanding so that the typical student will not be placed at a great disadvantage relative to the fortunate few who are able to attend expensive exam-oriented private schools. Young people are said to lose their vitality and creativity because they have to apply themselves with such singular discipline to prepare for the exams.

While Japan's leaders are aware of these problems, it is only since the student revolt of the late sixties that they have devoted extensive attention to educational reform: the government, in preparation for what it hoped would become a wholesale reconstruction of the existing system, asked toe Central Council for Education to prepare a series of reform proposals. Among the various problems considered by the Council were the troublesome examination system. The Council's final report concluded:

> Because the student selection system has an undesirable effect on the whole system of education in Japan, we must try to imporve it... qualified students should be able to gain admission to higher educational institutions suited to their individual abilities without special provision for entrance examinations.[6]

The Council urged the Central Government to take decisive action to reform the examination system, and if the government had been determined, it had several available strategies. It could take more serious steps to level the hierarchy of universities, both in the national sectpr (through levelling the extreme differentials in government support) and in the private sector (through large government subsidies). It could also eliminate the attached schools to national universities, or at least reduce their level of subsidy to that received by ordinary public schools and insist that the national schools admit students on a random basis or some other means designed to obtain an ordinary student body rather than the cream their exams now select. More intense moral persuasion could be turned on the private employment sector to promote a more flexible consideration of job applicants irrespective of their academic degree. Laws or regulations could be introduced to control the activities of the private sector's famous schools--for example, compulsory education could be extended through high school, thus placing these schools under official influence. However, the government has been reluctant to take the initiative in reforming the competitive examination system.

Critics of competition say the conservative government is actually a silent supporter of the competition--and there may be some truth in this. A recent platform statement of the Liberal-Democratic Party stated that "competition is the basic principle of life--it brings the best out of men".[7] Government and business leaders make no secret of their belief in the efficiency of educational competition. They say it helps them to select the nation's most able youth for their organizations. They may differ on some of the details: the government continues to rely on the University of Tokyo as its principal supplier of higher civil servants for it feels the products of this school will be the most intelligent and disciplined and their common school tie will add to the civil service's esprit de corps. In contrast, some businesses prefer the graduates of other schools, feeling they have more vigor and personality. In general, government and business leaders are not impressed with the quality of education or the personal values that the competitive school system teaches their recruits and they would like to see some changes in these areas, but they are confident of the transformative power of their on-the-job training. These leaders also appreciate the role of academic competition in maintaining social order.

Needless to say, there are many other groups who have a vested interest in the competitive system. Those universities which receive the most outstanding students and thereby maintain their prestigious position stand to lose if the competition is significantly altered. Tokyo University reacted with obvious disinterest to the proposal that it abandon undergraduate education and become Japan's first graduate school university. The university's representatives have played a significant role in sabotaging the National University Association's effort ot develop a meaningful reform of existing procedures for selecting entrants to the respective institutions of the national system.

The demand to reform the examination system is strongest among public school teachers and parents as represented in their PTAs and other organizations. Yet at the same time, many of these teachers earn money from the competition by moonlighting as juku teachers and private tutors. And the concerned parents, while they can agree in principle that competition should be curbed, are not prepared to pull their own child out until everyone else does. Often the most articulate parents in opposition to competition are those devoting the greatest private effort towards pushing their children forward. My prize example is a principal of one of the middle schools I visited who constantly complained about the pressure that parents placed on his school to stress academic over other school activities; yet this principal had guided his son to success in the entrance exam to Kyoto's most famous private school, Rakusei. There is also the story of several Kyoto principals who, upon retirement, joined hands in opening a large juku. Thus, there are many who silently support Japan's leading groups in their preference for maintaining the competitive system.

Public Policy and Private Schools

While the central government and the universities flounder in their attempts to reform the examination system, several local governments have in recent years imitated the Kyoto "democratic" high school system which has a reputation for reducing many of the pressures associated with preparation for entrance examinations. The Kyoto system was originally developed during the Occupation period in conformity with the "neighborhood school" principle. In contrast to the traditional hierarchy of secondary schools, each institution was to be equal in quality. Qualified students who wished to go to a high school would enter their neighborhood high school rather than worry about competing for entrance to a "best" school. The uniform high quality of the high schools would in theory enable all high school students to receive adequate college preparation while at the same time participating in a well-rounded program of extracurricular activities.

At the beginning of the postwar period all of Japan's prefectures were encouraged to institute a system similar to the Kyoto arrangement. However, from the mid-fifties most reverted to some variation of the traditional hierarchical system. In the most extreme case, a prefecture would place all of its high students in a single "large competitive system". Students who achieved the highest scores on an entrance exam were admitted to the best high schools while those who did not do as well were required to attend lesser high schools; or, if they preferred, those of the latter group could sit out for a year of exam preparation and compete again for entry to the best high schools. From the point of view of maximizing student prospects for success in the elite university entrance exams, the large district system would appear to be superior. It concentrates the cream of a prefecture's youth in a superior high school where, in a context of mutual stimulation, the exceptional youth cover material at an accelerated pace. In contrast, the neighborhood principle results in placing bright students in classrooms with others who learn at a slower pace and offers less academic stimulation. However, the large district system leads to an explicit ranking of youth and also fosters adolescent anxiety over their prospects of getting into the best high schools. Kyoto educators, influenced by the egalitarian ideology of the teachers' union, have maintained that these costs of the large district system are too great to justify its theoretical benefit of providing a favoarable setting for outstanding youth. To buttress their position, Kyoto educators have periodically compiled reports purporting to show that their system enables Kyotoites to do well in the exam competition while avoiding its costs. For example, it is the case that Kyoto youths have one of the highest rates of college attendence of all prefectures and that a disproportionate number of Kyoto high school graduates have succeeded in the entrance exams to Tokyo University and Kyoto University, Japan's two most prestigious higher educational institutions. At the same time, Kyoto's youth suicide rate and its rate for "hate-schoolers" (long term school absentees known as gakuo kirainin) are low.[8]

For over a decade the Kyoto government stood alone as the defender of the so-called democratic neighborhood system. However, radical educators throughout the nation were impressed with the Kyoto example and anxious to see it adopted in their areas. Since the late sixties, progressive parties have won elections in several of the local areas where radical educators are numerous. Responding to the educators' preference several of these newly constituted progressive governments have abandoned their large systems and reintroduced the democratic model. Yet contrary to the Kyoto experience, their reforms have not responded as anticipated. In far too many cases, the brightest students of these districts have shown their distrust for the public sector reform by refusing to attend a public high school. Instead, these youths have elected to attend the more expensive and exclusive private schools which provide instruction designed for the specific purpose of exam preparation.

Tokyo provides the most dramatic example. Prior to the reforms, Tokyo practiced the large district system and several of Tokyo's public high schools were among the nation's leaders in sending graduates to elite universities. In 1970, immediately following Tokyo's shift to the neighborhood model, the competition for well-known non-public schools jumped and they were able to cream the crop. Already by 1972 Hibiya and Koishikawa, two public high schools whose students had always excelled in the exam competition, were displaced from the top ten high schools supplying students to Tokyo University. By 1976 only one public high school was among the top ten, and this school was in the neighboring prefecture of Saitama, which uses the large district system. The top school was the private, exam-oriented Nada Koko of distant Hyogo prefecture. The next three were attached schools to national universities in the Tokyo area, and the remainder were private exam schools. Among Tokyo's former strong public schools, only Nishi was in the top twenty.[9] While some from the public schools gained entrance into well-known universities, these schools were now largely sending their graduates to second- and third-rank universities. Because the educational planners tried to limit the geographical area from which students might compete to enter the outstanding public schools, they ruined the special climate of these schools. Moreover, they probably increased inequality of opportunity: Whereas prior to the reforms the best schools were in the comparatively inexpensive public sector, after the reforms the best schools came to be located largely in the more costly private sector.

Shocked by the failure of its "democratic" experiment, Tokyo is now attempting a slow retreat. Other progressive-controlled prefectures are uncertain of what to do. Whereas they oppose the elitist large district system, they fear a repeat of Tokyo's mistake and of Kyoto's possible fate. The Tokyo experiment points out the difficulty of achieving an educational policy goal through reform of the public sector when a large number of equivalent institutions are in the private sector, protected from the influence of public sector planners. This is perhaps the biggest dilemma now being confronted by the Japanese school system.

The Future of Egalitarian Education

The problems Japan has encountered in alleviating the strain of the exam system illustrate the complexity of the educational system. In the face of this complexity it is impossible to make precise projections for the systems future. However, we would like to conclude this study with a few observations on forces that influence the egalitarian character of the systems educational outcomes.

First, let us consider the implications of the exam system. Despite its failings, the examination competition as currently structured actually reinforces certain of the effects of Japan's egalitarian education. Most Japanese youths are not exposed to the competition until the latter part of middle school. By that time they have already internalized egalitarian values which dispose them to react negatively toward the competitive pressures. Egalitarian values seem to draw youth together in a collective unity even as the examination system seeks to pull them apart and send them on diverse paths to adulthood.

In the future, however, if the examination system is not reformed, it is conceivable that the examination competition will trickle down to affect more youths at earlier stages in their socialization. While most youth will continue to attend public primary schools, these schools may decline as a central life interest. Even in the primary school years, youth will become involved in the world of juku, private tutors, and intensive study. If increasing numbers of private school youth are caught up in the pressure to prepare for exams, they may become oblivious to the egalitarian lessons of their primary schools. While parents and teachers will react to this with dismay, there are other groups in Japanese society who, believing education should do more to nurture individual abilities and practical skills, will welcome this trend.

A second threat to the future of egalitarian education is the prospect of political victory by progressive political forces. Most political observers believe it is only a matter of time before the conservative Liberal Democratic Party will be displaced by a government reflecting progressive forces. In the past, a key ingredient in the Japan Teachers' Unions ability to influence classroom teaching was its position as a critical and mistreated outsider. The union's continuing battle with the government has enabled it to generate a creative vision of egalitarian education which has appealed to the rank and file teacher. In the absence of conflict with government, it is not known whether the union will be able to continue to generate new pedagogical insights or excite the ordinary teacher with the need to persist in the conscientious practice of egalitarian education. It is possible that the union may become preoccupied with promoting a series of practical demands--better salaries, a five-day work week, and a less demanding curriculum. It will be difficult for a progressive government to resist these demands. Yet if a future regime makes these concessions, it will be weakening several of those distinctive characteristics of Japanese education which are most central to its egalitarian achievements.

In the event of a progressive victory, Japan's radical educators will have to face up to the problems inevitably encountered by those who rule. Throughout the postwar period, radical teachers have carried on a vigorous campaign of protest against the conservatives's utilitarian and meritocratic policies. The radicals have charged that the conservative policies underlie the exam competition and most of the other problems that trouble Japanese education. As the radical forces gain control of local governments and increase their participation at the center, they will be under pressure to remedy these deep-seated problems. Yet it is not at all clear that they are armed with viable solutions. One of the policies that radical educators have persistently urged is Kyoto's "democratic" high school system, yet we have already observed the difficulties that were encountered when this system was imitated by the Tokyo metropolitan government. Recently, in Aichi prefecture, a progressive government assumed office and began to reform the educational system. While affirming its ideological commitment to equal opportunity, this government found it had to treble the tuition for public kindergartens as well as increase fees in the public high schools in order to pay for its reform programs. The Japanese public is carefully watching the new progressive governments that have already gained office in several local areas, but these regimes have shown little promise of alleviating the problems that their political spokesmen formerly blamed on the conservatives. Insofar as progressive regimes fail to make headway on these problems, the public is likely to withdraw its respect for these regimes and for their political ally, the teachers' union. If this occurs, egalitarian education will be threatened.

Contemporary Japanese society faces a condition that has never before been encountered by an advanced society. Over the course of industrialization, educational systems have been relied on to teach young people their place: to tell those who did well in school that they were bright and deserving of social status; to tell others that they should settle for less. Postwar Japanese education has failed to teach its pupils these lessons. It has encouraged all to do well in school, and a large proportion have responded admirably. In Japan today, nearly all youths attend high school and the vast majority wish to go on to college. These youths, while they appreciate their individual strengths and weaknesses, are not inhibited by deep feelings of elitism or inferiority. They feel equal to each other and ask society to treat them accordingly.

Adult society has been dismayed by these demands. Given rapid growth and a need for youth labor and commitment, however, adult society has attempted a modest accommodation. Thus, we find traditional hierarchies are not as steep as they once were, and young people are given responsibility and challenge at an earlier age than their predecessors. In certain respects, Japan may be ahead of other advanced societies in its concessions to youth. But will these trends continue, or will a backlash set in? The egalitarian experiment is still in its infancy.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Mombusho. Wagakuni Kyoiku Suijun: 50 Nen Hakusho (Educational Standards in Japan: The 1975 White Paper). Tokyo, 1975, p. 145.

[2] Extensive data by prefecture on educational expenses is found in the basic educational statistics collected by the Ministry of Education and published periodically. From these we computed total operating expenses per primary school student by prefecture for 1972. Forty out of the forty-six prefectures spent between 135,000 and 170,000 yen per student or varied within a range of 30 percent. The most extravagant prefecture, Tokyo, spent 208,700 yen per student, or 56 percent more on operating expenses than Kumamoto with 133,333 yen per student. Within prefectures, operating expenses per student were adjusted to take account of the scale of schools. Concerning capital expenditures, most prefectures came to spend more per student in rural and isolated schools.

[3] Several of these equalizing laws are summarized in Ministry of Education. Education in Japan 1971: A Graphic Presentation, Tokyo: Government Printing Office, 1971, especially pp. 92-109.

[4] For detailed international comparisons of curriculum, see Ministry of Education, Educational Standards in Japan, 1970, Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1971, pp. 56-63.

[5] Benjamin S. Bloom. Human Characteristics and School Learning, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976.

[6] Central Council for Education. Basic Guidelines for the Reform of Education, Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1971, p. 43.

[7] Quoted in Kei Toyama, Kyoso Genri o Koete (Moving Beyond Competition), Tokyo: Taro Jirosta, 1976, p. 27.

[8] When we divide the number of graduates from each prefecture who in 1975 and 1976 gained entrance to either the University of Tokyo or Kyoto University by the total numbers graduating from high schools in each prefecture, we find that Kyoto graduates achieve the highest rate for entrance to these two elite institutions. For basic data, see Shukan Asahi April 16, 1976, pp. 158-9.

[9] For information on the high schools most successful in sending graduates to the University of Tokyo, see Shukan Asahi,